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APPEAL OF THE PEOPLE OF WINCHESTER TO WASHINGTON FOR PROTECTION.

Painting by Felix O. C. Darley.

[Winchester, Virginia, was the headquarters of the Colonial army after Braddock's defeat; Fort Loudoun was built there. Late in 1756, Governor Dinwiddie ordered the fort dismantled and abandoned; this left the inhabitants of all that district at the mercy of the Indians.]

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Official Edition

THE NEW COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

Author of Ridpath's History of the World

Volume V

INCLUDING the traditions and speculations of the pre-Columbian voyagers; the discovery and settlement of the New Continent; its development under colonial government and the establishment and progress of the Republic.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

1755–62

The final contest between France and England for supremacy on the North American continent is known in history as the "French and Indian War," and also as the "Seven Years' War." We have used the former repeatedly, but in this chapter we adopt the latter as the more definite and satisfactory term of the two. Before this war there had been a number of French and Indian wars; indeed, there was hardly a time in our colonial history when some such contest was not in progress. But there was only one final and conclusive struggle between the Anglo-Saxons on the one side and the French and the red men on the other. This was the Seven Years' War. The period covered by this war, from its inception to the signing of the treaty of peace, was about seven years; that is to say, from the spring of 1755 to the autumn of 1762. For some time before and after the first and last of these dates, hostilities of a more or less serious nature prevailed; but in its official existence the contest embraced the period named.

Seven Years' War

This was the first of the six great wars in which our country has been engaged since the old thirteen colonies were all in existence; and both

1755–62

Enormous consequences of Seven Years' War

in its results and the magnitude of its operations it was one of the most important. It made a Saxon nation in America possible, and gave to the English-speaking race control of a continent which seems foreordained to shape the destinies of the world.

Basis of French-English dispute

The dispute between the English and the French was over a question of boundaries. Westward England claimed everything to the South Sea, and she had granted several royal charters whose limits were established by that indefinite term. But the French had made up their minds that English settlements should be confined to the eastward of the Appalachian range of mountains, called by the English Alleghany, from an Indian term meaning "endless." In the meanwhile the question had been complicated by the Spanish claim to the whole of Georgia and a portion of South Carolina, and the assertion by England of her right to a considerable part of Florida, already put to the stake of war.

Immediate French objective

The restless energy of the Anglo-Saxons, their breeding vigor, and their self-centred willingness to embrace a pioneer life alone, caused them to push their settlements rapidly toward the west; and with a view to cutting them off from the rich lands beyond the mountains, the French extended a line of fortifications, backed by unimportant settlements, from north to south through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Their vital weakness was, that there was no solid mass of population behind; so that when a fort was lost, the vast district it dominated passed to the conquerors also, while the English colonists could lose a score of battles without serious danger of their provinces being subjugated. Why there was this lack of people we have shown in the last chapter. The French were reluctant to emigrate; the one class of French who would emigrate were not allowed to do so; and of those who did, the sons in large measure took to the forest amid the curses and threats of church and government, filled the Indian wigwams with half-breeds, and left the farms untilled and the white girls unmarried.

1673–1762

Cause of French weakness

During nearly the whole of the colonial period France and Spain were allied against England in their mutual determination to prevent her territorial expansion, their object being to sustain their "balance of power." The result of the Seven Years' War was a crushing defeat for France, and a partial one for Spain; whereupon England became paramount on the northern continent of the Western World. But as a Power nearly all she had gained by this splendid triumph was afterward thrown away by the folly of George III. and his weak ministry.

War for "balance of power"

The French explorers and pioneers were already familiar with the country west of the Appalachian mountains. As early as 1673 they had explored the Mississippi to the thirty-third degree of north latitude, and nine years later La Salle followed the course of that stream from the point where it receives the waters of the Illinois to its

French exploration

1682–1762

deltaic debouchement into the Gulf of Mexico. At the latter place he set up a column bearing the arms of France, and in the name of Louis XIV. took possession of all the country from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. Nor were the French satisfied with retaining a mere nominal possession of this vast region. Within a few years they had traced all the principal rivers east of the Mississippi to their sources, and established forts and settlements at various places. In 1722, just forty years after La Salle's memorable trip down the Father of Waters, the foundations of the City of New Orleans were laid.

Thorough French exploration

This was followed by the extension of French settlements and trading-posts northward along the banks of the great river, with the avowed purpose of forming a continuous chain of fortifications from its mouth to the northwestern lakes and Canada. They knew that in this region they possessed the foundations of an empire greater than any in Europe; as great indeed as all Europe, excluding Russia, then barbarous and not considered; and they were in actual possession of it according to the recognized law of nations—which, to be sure, no nation ever paid any attention to when a fight promised well. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War the French had more than twenty stations and forts in the upper valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, in addition to those further south, on the banks of the latter. The most important among these places were the following; and it is well to remember their location, for each

Great chain of posts

performed its part in the operations of the Seven Years' War:

Situation in 1755

Niagara lay on the east bank of the river of that name, connecting Lakes Ontario and Erie. On the southeastern shore of the latter, where the city of Erie, Pennsylvania, now stands, was the strong stockade of Presqu'isle. Away to the southwest, and still on the shore of the same lake, was Sandusky, occupying the site of the present city of that name. Around the western end of Lake Erie, on the connecting waterway of the sister lakes to the northwest, was Detroit, now also the site of a flourishing city, one of our foremost. Near the junction of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior stood another fort, called Michillimacinac, now shortened into Mackinaw. A fort and a stockaded settlement were also located at the head of Green Bay, on the northwest coast of Lake Michigan, and another on the southeastern shore of the same lake, where the city of St. Joseph, Michigan, now stands. The interior valleys of the Wabash and Miami were protected by two forts in Indiana: at Miami, on the site of the present town of that name, and Ouatanon, on the Wabash a little below the present site of Lafayette.

French chain of American posts

Their purpose

This chain of forts, connecting those along the St. Lawrence and cutting off the English colonies to the northeast, completely fenced in Canada and protected the French advance into the Mississippi Valley. There were also stockaded settlements at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia; and in 1764 the strong post of St. Louis was established. This took place, however, after the close of the Seven Years' War; and the whole territory of Louisiana was soon afterward transferred to Spain, as a protection against English aggression.

Situation in 1755

In the east, and crowding close into the territory of the English colonies, a chain of forts extended south from Presqu'isle nearly to the Ohio River; and immediately after the commencement of hostilities, Fort Duquesne was established on the delta between the Alleghany and Monongahela, where their junction forms the Ohio. The most northern of this chain of forts, called Le Bœuf, was located on a branch of the Alleghany twenty miles south of Presqu'isle; and Venango, the next in the chain, stood on the northwest bank of the main stream of the Alleghany, about the same distance south of Le Bœuf.

French inner line of forts

With the completion of Fort Duquesne, this line of fortifications stood like a bulwark, forbidding the progress of English settlements westward; while the limits of New France were definitely established from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains, and from Canada and the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The English were expected to content themselves with a narrow strip of territory along the Atlantic coast; and if they showed any dissatisfaction with their allotment, the French armies and forts were supposed to be strong enough to pen them up and keep them within this precinct. It was a magnificent scheme of empire, wanting nothing except inhabitants to make it real; but those it had not, and under the

English to be kept to Alleghany line

only system which the French politico-religious polity rendered possible it could not have; and wanting these, it was the veriest cloud-castle and dream that ever vaunted itself as practical statesmanship. The moment a real colonization like the English touched it, it must crumble into ruin.

Situation in 1755

On the other hand, at the beginning of the contest, the English colonies had no fortifications to oppose those of the French except at Oswego, on the southeastern shore of Lake Ontario; and at Ligonier, Carlisle, and Bedford in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. Practically the whole breadth of New York and Pennsylvania was open to the incursions of the French and their Indian allies.

Scanty English forts

In other respects, however, the conditions were very different. The English had occupied the Atlantic coast territory as permanent settlers; they were agriculturists and stock-raisers, and had established there a population of more than a million people: while Canada and Louisiana, constituting the French territory in America, contained a white population of only about fifty-two thousand. The English had the virile energy of freemen and freeholders, fighting for their own property which foreign armies would largely ruin and foreign conquest would largely confiscate, and for their own local self-government. The French settlers who actually settled were practically serfs of the soil to a few landed *seigneurs,* having no right in the farms but a stingy and unfattening occupancy on condition of servile obedience, under

Vital difference of the colonizations

Situation in 1755

French system paralyzes self-defense

And rapid growth

the thumb of a despotic outside government and a more despotic, close at hand, minutely meddling priesthood, whose very principle of action and basis of dominance was to keep them from acting or thinking for themselves, and so incapable of doing anything except when master or priest was at hand and gave orders. But for exactly these reasons, as we have said, the best—or at least most energetic, and so for the purpose at hand most serviceable and reliable—blood would not settle at all in any proper sense. It roamed the forest and mated with savage squaws, forming neither towns nor blocks of farms, with no families or houses or institutions to defend, and leaving most of the country virtually as uncolonized as if it had been left to the beaver, the panther, and the savage.

French military advantage

The French garrisons and field troops, however, were trained soldiers; while the busy English farmers had no organized army to depend upon: so the first result was sure to be favorable to the regular forces, and the contest seem to be a drawn battle or leaning to the French side when it was really a foregone English victory from the first. The regular soldiers' trade, too, was to risk their lives, and to shrink from this nullified their only reason for being; the militia were citizens who were right in husbanding themselves, since they had other purposes for existence. The French had likewise a majority of the Indians on their side, and stood ready to launch great bands of savages against the British settlements. From the point of view of a military martinet the French had the best of the situation; but this ignored their almost entire lack of reserve force, and the almost exhaustless English supply. 1755

It is interesting to note the strength in population of the various English colonies just as they were entering upon this memorable struggle. The following is approximately correct:

Population of English colonies

New Hampshire....	30,000	Maryland	85,000
Massachusetts	220,000	Virginia	85,000
Rhode Island......	35,000	Georgia	6,000
Connecticut	100,000	North and South Carolina	75,000
New York	100,000	Nova Scotia	5,000
The Jerseys	60,000		
Pennsylvania and Delaware	250,000	Total	1,051,000

More than half the population of Nova Scotia was French, and bitterly hostile to the English; which was the cause of the most deplorable tragedy of the war.

Nova Scotia mainly French

Previous to 1749 no English settlements had penetrated to the west of the Alleghany Mountains. There were a few migratory traders who had built temporary log huts within the territory now constituting the State of West Virginia, but there were no regular settlements. The effort to occupy the field west of the mountains was the immediate provoking cause of the war. "The country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British dominions," wrote Lord Halifax; and in order to encourage emigration in that direction, the King instructed the governor of Virginia to grant 500,000 acres of land between the Monongahela and

English begin to swarm beyond Alleghanies

Kanawha rivers to John Hanbury and his associates in Maryland and Virginia. This was the beginning of the "Ohio Company," in which Lawrence and Augustine Washington, elder brothers of George, were largely interested. Robert Dinwiddie, who soon afterward became lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia Council, were likewise prominent members of this company. The conditions under which the grant was given required the company to select two-fifths of their land at once, to build and garrison a fort at their own cost, and within seven years to colonize at least one hundred families. They were to have the land free of quit-rents for a period of ten years.

1748 et seq.

Ohio Company

These measures were taken in 1748; and the French, being soon informed of what was going on, resolved to forestall the English. The prospective French empire was too grand a conception to be allowed to slip away so easily. The Marquis of Galissonière, who was governor of Canada at that time, dispatched Céloron de Bienville to take possession of the Ohio country. He was supplied with a force of 180 Canadians, 20 regulars, and 45 Cherokees and Abenakis, besides officers and cadets, the whole amounting to about three hundred men. The expedition left Lachine on the 15th of June, 1749, ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and reached Niagara on the 6th of July. Sailing thence along the southern shore of Lake Erie to Presqu'isle, they landed and marched to the headwaters of the Alleghany,

French hurry to forestall English

where they constructed boats and floated down that stream to the Ohio. 1749

After pursuing the course of the latter for some distance, they landed opposite an island at the confluence of another considerable stream. Here the commander nailed the arms of France to a tree; and at its roots he buried a leaden plate containing an inscription in Latin,[1] to the effect that the King of France claimed all the lands bordering on the Ohio and its tributaries to their sources, besides those adjacent to the Great Lakes of the north. Other plates, containing similar inscriptions, were buried at the mouths of several of the principal streams which the party had crossed on the way, and notice was given to all English traders to leave the country. Céloron thereupon wrote to the governor of Pennsylvania, warning him that if such traders "should thereafter make their appearance on the Beautiful River, they would be treated without any delicacy." Some who did not heed the warning were arrested and taken to Sandusky, where they were detained as prisoners. These were the first overt

French take possession west of Alleghanies

Warn off English

---

[1] Translation: "In the year 1749, during the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière, commander-in-chief of New France, for the restoration of tranquillity in some villages of Indians of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin, this 29th July, near the river Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those that therein fall, and of all the lands on both sides, as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to be enjoyed by the preceding kings of France, and as they therein have maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix-la-Chapelle."

acts of the Seven Years' War, some years in advance of its formal beginning.

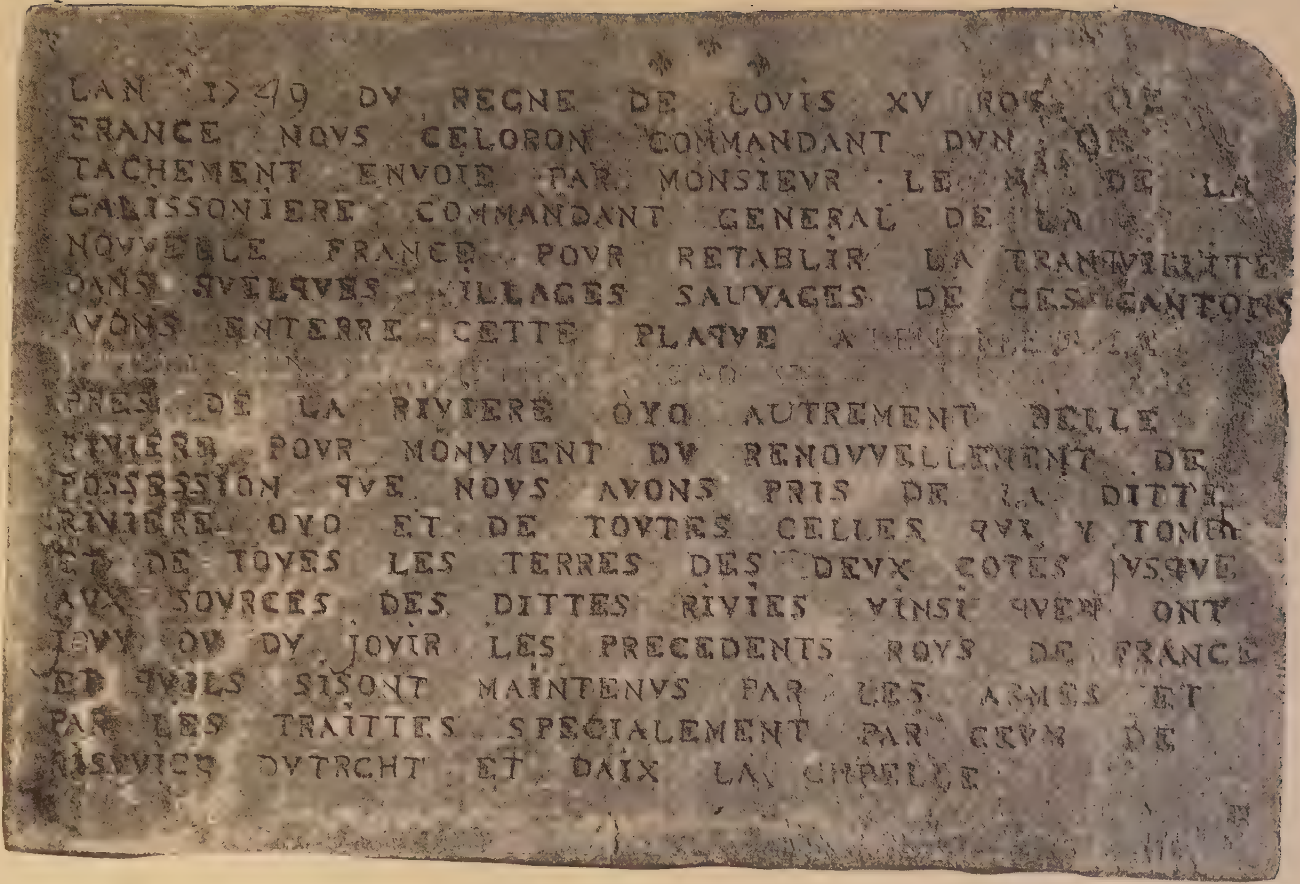
1749 et seq.

This French explorer penetrated the wilderness as far as the Miami country in the Ohio Valley, notifying the Indians that he had come down the river to "scourge home our children, the Miamis and the Wyandots," and warning them not to trade with the English. But the chiefs replied haughtily that the land belonged to their people, and they asserted the right to trade wherever they pleased. They could not understand why it was any more their interest to sell their peltries to, and buy their blankets and powder and lead from, the French than the English. On the contrary, they preferred an open market with competition, for they had learned by experience that such conditions assured them better terms. As to the friendship of the two nations, they had no confidence in either; but openly proclaimed their belief that both the English and the French were bent on robbing them of their lands. They were suspicious of Céloron and his expedition. The head chief of the Miamis said to him, "We know this is done to steal our country from us, and we will appeal to the council of the Iroquois," which they accordingly did.

French warn Miamis not to trade with English

They refuse and appeal to Iroquois

The Miamis and their allied tribes belonged to the Algonquin race, and were consequently hereditary enemies of the Six Nations; but about a generation before the time of which we are writing, they had formed an alliance with the Iroquois to save themselves from destruction by the western



LAN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE
FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN DE
TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE [illegible] DE LA
GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQVILLITE
DANS QVELQVES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS
AVONS ENTERRE CETTE PLAQVE A [illegible]
[illegible]
PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE
RIVIERE POVR MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE
POSSESSION QVE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOVTES CELLES QVI Y TOMB
ET DE TOVES LES TERRES DES DEVX COTES JVSQVE
AVX SOVRCES DES DITTES RIVIES AINSI QVEN ONT
JOVY OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
ET QVILS SISONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET
PAR LES TRAITTES SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE
RISVVICK DVTRCHT ET DAIX LA CHAPELLE

ONE OF BIENVILLE'S LEAD PLATES CLAIMING THE OHIO VALLEY FOR FRANCE.

Facsimile of plate owned by Virginia Historical Society.

Sioux and the French, who had united their forces in making war upon them. The Iroquois as a rule were friendly to the English, and this alliance brought the Miamis also into closer relations with the latter. Some of the old bitterness of former hostilities, however, still existed; and while they no longer made war on the settlements to the eastward of their country, the Miamis remained practically neutral during the Seven Years' War. At the beginning of the contest they wavered; they attacked the Senecas, who were on the side of the English; subsequently they met the representatives of the latter at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and made a treaty with them; whereupon they plundered the French posts in their territory and allowed the English to build a fort on their land. At the end of the war they refused permission to the English troops to cross their country; but finally made peace, and then joined Pontiac in his war on the English posts (Chapter 37).

1749–62

Miamis hostile to both French and English

From this record it will be seen that they wavered between the two nations during the entire contest, and had no cordial friendship for either. According to the declaration of their chiefs, they regarded both the French and English as enemies; and it was their policy to secure all the advantages they could from both. Including their allies—the Ouiatenons or Weas, the Piankeshaws, the Pepikokias, the Kilataks, and other smaller tribes or bands—the Miamis were able to put nearly 8000 warriors into the field, and their friendship or enmity was therefore a matter of considerable

Wingate College Library

importance to the contestants. But the spirit of aversion manifested by them toward all white men neutralized their power, and kept them out of the contest except as an element to be dreaded by both sides. Céloron's excursion into their country was an unfortunate event for the French; for his threats, his overbearing conduct, and especially the mysterious planting of the leaden tablets, roused their suspicion and excited their hostility. Otherwise it is probable that the Miamis would have been actively on the side of the French in this memorable conflict, as their scattered trading posts brought only advantage to the Indians instead of a constant absorption of their lands.

1749

Bad French move

In accordance with the declaration of their chief, one of the leaden plates was carried to the grand council of the Iroquois, and delivered into the charge of the Mohawks. Several chiefs of this tribe were appointed to carry the plate in state to Colonel Johnson (afterward Sir William), at his residence on the Mohawk, for his opinion as to its meaning. The information he gave them was not comforting. He told them it was a threat on the part of the French to occupy all the country west of the great mountains; and if the plates were allowed to remain where they had been planted, they would be the means of robbing the Indians of all their lands. This signified a confirmation of their own apprehensions, and runners were dispatched to their western allies with the ominous information. The plates were thereupon taken up, and doubtless molded into bullets to be fired

Johnson uses it against them

indiscriminately at the French and English, as circumstances might seem to justify. The suspicions and ill-will of the Iroquois were still further aroused against the French, when the latter strengthened the fortifications on their lands at Niagara. These circumstances materially weakened the influence of the French over the Indians at the beginning of the conflict.

1749 et seq.

French lose hold on Indians

On the other hand, the colonies were not at first united for the coming struggle. There was little concert of action or friendliness among them, while the relations of some were marked with avowed enmity, owing partly to irreconcilable boundary struggles. A bitter jealousy, for instance, had long existed between Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Each regarded with envy the growth of the others; and when the Ohio Company was organized, it had in view as one of its principal objects the curtailment of Pennsylvania's territorial expansion, equally with the planting of settlements by Virginia beyond the mountains. The initial steps, therefore, had to be taken with caution, in order to avoid a rupture with Pennsylvania as well as with the French and Indians. But actual hostilities, which began not long afterward, and the danger which they engendered, soon obliterated the spirit of grudge and brought the colonies together for mutual protection. Then, for the first time, they began to realize their strength when united; and it may be said with truth that the Seven Years' War was the beginning of the Revolution.

Inter-colonial jealousies

War abates them

1750–1

Gist's expedition along the Ohio

In October 1750, the year following Celoron's expedition, the Ohio Company employed Christopher Gist, a noted Indian scout, to examine the western country "as far as the falls of the Ohio," with a view to finding a suitable place to locate their grant of land. He was to penetrate the country westward of the great mountains, mark the passes, seek a large tract of level ground, trace the courses of the rivers, count the number of their falls, and observe the strength of the various Indian tribes. Gist belonged to a band of hardy pioneers who had settled on the banks of the Yadkin, in the northwestern part of North Carolina; and he was well qualified for the task assigned to him. He belonged to the same race as the Boones, the Bryans, the Finleys, and others who subsequently became famous as leaders in the Revolution and pioneers of the great West. All of these people lived in the same community, and were neighbors and friends; and being of the so-called Scotch-Irish descent, they were united not only by the bonds of relationship, but of race and patriotism as well.

The great Western pioneers

Gist sets out

Gist set out on his extensive and perilous journey on the last day of October. He crossed the Alleghanies in the midst of winter, swimming icy rivers and camping at night with no other shelter except such as the forest afforded him. His party was small; their food consisted of the deer, wild turkeys, buffaloes, and other game which they found everywhere in abundance, and killed with their rifles during their daily progress through the

1751

Gist reaches the Ohio

wilderness. Early in February 1751 they reached the Ohio, not far below the present site of Pittsburg, and crossed the river on a raft, swimming their horses by its side. It was a cold bath for the poor beasts, but they were as hardy as their masters and felt no permanent inconvenience.

Journeys to the Muskingum

They now proceeded along a narrow but very fertile valley to the Indian village of Logstown, where their welcome was by no means cordial. "You are come," said the head chief, "to take the Indians' lands; but you shall never go home safe." Yet it was the policy of these red men not to excite the anger of the English king, and they allowed Gist and his party to proceed on their journey in safety. Traveling westward toward the Muskingum and the Miami rivers, they met numerous families of Wyandots, Ottawas, Little Mingoes, and others who were in alliance with the great Miami nation. Some of these savages manifested a spirit of enmity, but most of them were amicably disposed. Gist and his party were going over the ground which had been previously traveled by Céloron and his band of Frenchmen, and the disagreeable conduct of the latter inclined the Indians to receive the Englishmen in a spirit of concord.

At Muskingum they found a village of one hundred families, who were divided in their sentiments, one-half adhering to the English and the remainder to the French. George Croghan, a noted Indian-trader from Pennsylvania, was living at the time in this village; and although his sympathies were with his own colony, he preferred the Virginians to the French, and accordingly exercised his influence in their behalf. The Wyandots of this village were especially friendly, and at the same time very bitter in their feelings toward the French. "Come and live with us," they said to Gist; "bring great guns and make a fort. If the French claim the branches of the lakes, those of the Ohio belong to us and our brothers the English."

1751

Gist at the Muskingum

The Wyandots were a branch of the Iroquois nation, and consequently disposed to entertain friendly relations with the English; yet just before the time of Gist's visit they had been compelled to come under French protection at Michillimacinac and Sandusky, in consequence of a war of extermination which the Sioux had waged against them. They subsequently became staunch allies of the English, and carried their allegiance to the extent of opposing the colonies during the war of the Revolution. Gist and his party tarried at Muskingum more than a month, waiting for the grand council of the Wyandots, which it was hoped would declare against either one of the contending nations, regarding both as the despoilers of their people; but they extended a cordial greeting to Gist, and promised to give the matter of alliance with his people a more earnest consideration at the general council of their tribes, which was to meet in the near future.

The Wyandots

Gist makes them friendly to English

Five miles from the mouth of the Scioto, Gist found a village of the Delawares, who manifested the most cordial friendship for him and his people. The history of this Indian tribe possesses an extraordinary degree of interest. They called themselves Renappi, meaning "Men," from which Lanape or Lenni Lenape, bestowed upon them by the early Dutch traders of the Jerseys. They were at that time living in the region of Delaware Bay, and were noted for their peaceful disposition. When the Swedes came into their country, they translated Luther's catechism into the Lenape language and endeavored to convert the savages to Christianity, but with only partial success. The Lenapes claimed that they had come originally from the distant west, and were the source of all the Algonquin tribes; for which reason some of the latter styled them "grandfathers." Gradually they came to be known as Delawares, from the name of the country of their inhabitance. The Iroquois had subjugated them, established a permanent suzerainty over them, forced them to pay tribute, called them "women," and denied them the privilege of making war without their (the Iroquois') permission; a fact to which much of the peaceful progress of Penn's colony is due, Penn having shrewdly bought the Delawares' lands of the Iroquois also. More than once the Delawares would have barred or revenged the Pennsylvania clearings with a ferocious war but for dread of their mighty overlords. The Delawares gradually moved westward as the new colony crowded them out, by purchases some of which they repudiated and raged against. About a dozen years before

1751 et seq.

The Delawares

Legendary history

Subdued by Iroquois

1742 et seq.

The Walking Purchase

the outbreak of the French war, they actually broke bounds on account of the worst of these, the infamous "Walking Purchase." They not only refused to move, but committed a number of outrages in the border settlements; whereupon the Pennsylvania authorities appealed to the Six Nations. The Iroquois haughtily ordered the real owners to leave the country; and they had no choice but to obey.

History of the Delawares to 1762

They were now thrown back into the midst of the warlike tribes west of the mountains, where they were compelled to fight for their existence without regard to the Iroquois, and soon resumed their old manly self-determination. In a few years they acquired the name of being one of the most warlike tribes of the west, a reputation which they ever afterward maintained. They were also broken up into small bands and scattered over a large expanse of country, which explains why the early explorers and pioneers found them in so many different places. During the Seven Years' War they were divided in their allegiance, some of the bands fighting under the banner of France and others upholding the red cross of St. George. Indeed, at that time their settlements were so widely separated that they sustained very little relationship with one another, and did not act in concert in any of their warlike operations. Some of the fiercest warriors on the French side at the massacre of Braddock's army were Delawares, while other of its bands served with equal fidelity on the side of the English.

After the fall of Fort Duquesne they all made peace with the English, and served them faithfully until the outbreak of Pontiac's war, when a portion of the tribe joined him in his efforts to destroy the English posts in the northwest. During the Revolution the Delawares sided mainly with the British, though a large portion of the tribe remained at peace and cultivated their little fields throughout nearly the whole of that conflict. The hostiles, unsubdued by the results of the war, joined the Miamis in defeating St. Clair in 1791, but met with a signal punishment at the hands of "Mad Anthony Wayne" three years later.

1758-94

The Delawares to 1794

Bidding adieu to the friendly Delawares, Gist and his party proceeded on their way down the "beautiful river" of the French, until, reaching a point some distance below the mouth of the Scioto, they came to a large village of Shawnees, located on both sides of the Ohio. These people were outspoken and even demonstrative in the expression of their friendship, though they took sides with the French as soon as hostilities began, for reasons of sound policy already set forth here. After a pleasant sojourn there, the white men resumed their journey, and late in February reached the Great Miami, twenty miles west of the present Cincinnati. The river was swollen with the spring rains, but they crossed it on a raft, swimming their horses as on former occasions. No other white man except the French had ever penetrated so far west at that date, and many of the Indians had never seen a pale-face. This

Gist reaches the Shawnees

And the Great Miami

accounts in a large degree for their friendly disposition. 1751

Gist's delight with Ohio country

The white men were delighted with the country which they had traversed west of the mountains. Gist described it as rich and level, covered with gigantic forests of walnut, hickory, oak, sugar-maple, wild cherry, and ash; while the ground was carpeted with a luxurious growth of wild rye, blue grass, and white clover. Turkeys and deer abounded; also elks and buffaloes, vast herds of the latter being observed in many places. "Nothing is wanting," wrote Gist rightly, "but cultivation to make this a most delightful country." But by *whom* war must decide.

Piqua, the Miami capital

Soon after crossing the Great Miami they approached a large village called Piqualenees, where a long procession of warriors, bearing the pipe of peace, came out to meet them. They entered the village with the British colors flying, and were conducted as guests of honor to the chief's house, over which the flag was unfurled. After resting for several days and enjoying this hospitality, the explorers proceeded northward to Piqua, then the principal town and capital of the Miami confederation. Here also they were received with every mark of consideration. The town consisted of about four hundred families, living in neat and comfortable houses constructed of willow mats, the whole village being surrounded by a strong palisade. The people were civil, brave, and well-disposed, and treated the explorers with the utmost consideration. They were still irritated over the conduct of Céloron, which made them all the more disposed to show friendship to the English. Their principal chief lived in great state, and had a bodyguard of trained warriors who accompanied him wherever he went. Counting their allied and subject tribes, the Miamis were at that time a greater nation than the Iroquois. But they were by no means so warlike, nor did they possess so complete and coherent a system of government; and consequently their force and influence were less pronounced.

1751

The Miami power

The warriors and principal chiefs being assembled in the Long House, Gist presented them with two strings of wampum, which "removed trouble from their hearts and cleared their eyes," so that they experienced no difficulty in seeing the good intentions of their visitors. This having been accomplished, four other belts were presented in confirmation of the good reports which had been sent by the Delawares and Wyandots regarding them. These ceremonies having established goodwill in the hearts of the people and their guests, the latter joined them in their sports and pastimes, and still further won their gratitude by assisting the men in enlarging and repairing their fort. They also distributed articles of clothing and various-colored paints among the chiefs and warriors, that they might array and decorate themselves in becoming splendor for the approaching council.

Gist at their council

When it was announced that delegations from the Weas and Piankeshaws were approaching, all the warriors, with their guests at their head, went

1751

Great Miami council

Treaty with English

Message from Canadian government

forth in grand procession to meet them. Other delegations were welcomed in like manner, until the whole grand council had assembled; when they all repaired to the Long House and sat in perfect silence for a quarter of an hour. At the end of that time a delegation, consisting of two men from each tribe, entered the council chamber bearing the pipe of peace, its long stem richly ornamented with eagles' feathers. In solemn silence the pipe was passed around the circle, each member of the council drawing a single whiff of smoke in token of his friendly sentiments. After this impressive ceremony came the regular order of business, consisting of a "talk" from the white chief and responsive orations from the leading members of the council. Several days were consumed by these ceremonies and in feasting, after which articles of peace and alliance were solemnly drawn up and signed between the Weas and Piankeshaws, on the one side, and the white men on the other. It was agreed also that the friendly tribes of the west, embracing all the ramifications of the Miami confederacy, should meet the next summer at Logstown, for a general treaty with Virginia.

Scarcely had the articles been reduced to writing and signed and sealed in duplicate, when a delegation of four Ottawas appeared, bearing presents from the governor of Canada. They were admitted to the council, whereupon they proclaimed their message to be a desire for the renewal of friendship with their fathers the French. This was the message they bore from the great

1751

Miami confederates hostile to French

white chief of the French nation. The king of the Piankeshaws then strode to the centre of the council-house, where he planted the French and English colors side by side; then addressing the assembled chiefs, he exclaimed with dignity and force: "The path of the French is bloody, and it was made so by them. We have cleared a road for our brothers the English; and your fathers have made it foul and have taken some of our brothers prisoners." This referred to a recent seizure of three Miamis near Detroit and one on the Wabash. "We look upon this," exclaimed the king, "as done to us;" whereupon he strode out of the council, followed by his companions in their brilliant uniforms of feather and paint.

Express friendship for English

The entire proceeding was of a highly impressive character, and its significance was intensified by grunts of approval from all quarters of the council chamber. But the Ottawas, as representatives of the French, wept and howled, and predicted great sorrow for the Miamis. This brought the war-chief of the Piankeshaws to his feet, who, invoking the French as if they had been present, spoke as follows: "Fathers! you have desired that we should go home to you, but I tell you it is not our home; for we have made a path to the sunrising, and have been taken by the hand by our brothers the English, the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots; and we assure you, in that road we will go. That you may know our mind, we send you this string of black wampum. Brothers the Ottawas, tell that to your fathers the French; for we speak it from our hearts." 1751

The French colors were then taken down, and the ambassadors dismissed, that they might bear the message of what had been done to the French at Sandusky. After this there were other days of feasting and dancing, interspersed with stories by the warriors, recounting their deeds of valor in war and the chase; which occupied the time until the first of March, when the white men announced that they must depart. Wishing to see more of the country, Gist proceeded some distance up the Miami, accompanied by a delegation of warriors, who assured him that all the land was equally fertile to the head-springs of the river and westward to the great Father of Waters. Gist was amazed at the beauty and fertility of the country, the very garden-spot of the continent. Here, he realized at some future day, would exist a mighty empire of happy and prosperous people. Returning by way of the little Miami to its junction with the Ohio, he descended that stream to within fifteen miles of the falls, at the present site of Louisville, where he crossed over to the valley of the Kentucky River; and making his way through that splendid region which now constitutes central Kentucky, he returned to his employers in Virginia by way of the Bluestone and Roanoke rivers.

Adverse answer sent to French

Gist up the Great Miami

Returns to Virginia

Gist carried with him the first reports of the fabulously rich country lying west of the mountains, and the information which he brought led to the early settlement of that region. The pictures he drew of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the rivers, and the abundance of game, made a profound impression on the minds of the dwellers on the Yadkin; and not many years elapsed before they began to penetrate the wilderness in search of homes in the great West. Gist himself chose a tract of land in the valley of the Youghiogheny, in the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, where he established his plantation; and here we shall soon find him again acting as guide and companion to George Washington on his memorable trip through the wilderness to Fort Le Bœuf. What subsequently became of Gist is not known, but he probably spent the remainder of his life on his plantation in the valley of the Youghiogheny.

1751 et seq.

Result of Gist's report

Acts as Washington's guide

The Ohio Company, not daring yet to venture into the distant regions explored by Gist, located their extensive grant on the east bank of the Ohio, in the angle between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers. Here, in spite of the threatening aspect of the times, English settlements began to spring up—when an emigrant or a stalwart new bridegroom needed a farm, take one he would in the jaws of the panther; and by the period of the Revolution a considerable population had collected in the valley of the Kanawha.

Ohio company colonizes on Kanawha

Meanwhile the Indians wondered where their land lay. Two sachems now sent a messenger to inquire, "Where is the Indians' land? The English claim it all on one side of the river, the French on the other: where does the Indians' land lie?"

1751 et seq.

Indian land rights vs. civilization

In the sense of a right to hold it desert against the needs of a civilization, the reply must be "Nowhere," as it has been many times to more advanced peoples than the Indians, and must and should ever be. There is no moral right in anybody of locking up the surface of the earth against inhabitancy by the people of the earth, or of a hopelessly unprogressive culture in barring out a progressive one. The Indians had a right to compensation, and in the main they had it; of some place to live and means of living, and the Republic has always furnished these: a right to keep millions of square miles for the hunting-grounds of a few thousands forever they had not.

French and English collision approaching

It now became self-evident that there would be trouble with the French at an early date; and in anticipation of this, as well as to secure possession of the country in advance, the British ministry ordered the governor of Virginia to build two forts near the Ohio. But the order came too late. The French had anticipated the movement, and were already in the field. The various forts and stockades mentioned previously were already completed or under way, and parties of French soldiers were marching from Canada and from Louisiana to occupy them. England's slow movements had left the way open for French occupation, and now whatever she would gain must be by conquest. In the end she was triumphant, as we shall see; but at a tremendous cost.

Overt acts, justifying the preliminary movements of war, were not long in coming. When nations or individuals desire trouble, they always find a way to bring it about. Some English traders, while engaged in their occupation among the Indians, near the present location of Pittsburg, were seized by a body of French and Indians and carried as prisoners of war to Presqu'isle. They were kindly treated, but nevertheless were subjected to indignities which free men always resent. The object of their detention was to ascertain the purposes of the English government with reference to the western territory; but these obscure traders knew nothing of the affairs of state, consequently the French were no wiser than they were before the illegal seizure was made.

1753

English traders kidnapped for information

The outrage had been committed in the midst of a band of Indians called Twightwees, belonging to the great family of the Miamis, and friendly to the English. They retaliated by arresting several French traders and sending them to Philadelphia. Both sides were now equally guilty with regard to hostile acts; but the French were the first aggressors. Public sentiment was greatly excited over these transactions, not only in the colonies, but in England as well. Religious and national feeling entered into the matter and intensified the animosity of the contestants. The English were Protestants and the French Catholics; and at that age these two contending branches of the church could not live in harmony. An impassable barrier, an irrepressible conflict, lay between them.

French seized in retaliation

In some way the English traders who had been arrested were connected with the Ohio Company;

and the officers of that organization, who were highly influential, complained to Governor Dinwiddie concerning the invasion of their rights. They had also by this time laid the boundaries of their grant in the valley of the Kanawha, a region that would come under French dominion if the claims of the latter were allowed. Dinwiddie was interested both as a promoter and the executive officer of the colony of Virginia; and he determined to send a formal remonstrance to M. de St. Pierre, the French commander on the Alleghany. The mission was a delicate as well as a dangerous one, requiring a messenger endowed with wisdom, courage, and discretion above the common run of men.

1753

Ohio Company complain of French

Dinwiddie sends mission to remonstrate

Only one person was thought of in that connection. This was a youth just turning into manhood, being only a few months over twenty-one: George Washington by name. His education was limited, and his opportunities for mingling with men of the world had been circumscribed; but he possessed one of those rare minds which seem intuitively to embrace all knowledge. When only nineteen years of age he had received the appointment of adjutant-general of one of the four grand military divisions of Virginia, with the rank of major; and so well had he performed the duties of this responsible office that his fame extended all over the colony. Two of his elder brothers were officers of the Ohio Company, and their influence was of course a factor in his employment; but without their aid he would have been selected

George Washington

THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

In Uniform as Colonel of Virginia Militia.

for the place, for he was regarded as the only person in the province fitted for the occasion. Washington has been represented as a member of the Virginia aristocracy; but his life had been cast among the common people, and his character possessed none of those puerile and corrupting elements that usually attach to the aristocratic classes. He was in every sense a man of the common people.

1753

Washington's democracy

Williamsburg was then the capital of the colony; and from that place he set out on his perilous journey on the last day of October, 1753. He was accompanied by neither servant nor military escort, but started alone to penetrate the wilderness for a distance of nearly six hundred miles. This journey has no counterpart in the history of our country. On arriving at Fredericksburg, the youthful major engaged a Dutchman named Jacob Vanbraam to accompany him as French interpreter, and an Englishman named John Davidson as Indian interpreter; and with these two companions he struck out into the pathless wilderness. At the junction of Will's Creek with the Potomac, now the site of Cumberland in Maryland, the little party was joined by Mr. Gist and four other men, two of whom were Indian-traders and well acquainted with the bands of savages through whose country their route lay.

Washington's journey through the wilderness

It was now the middle of November, and they were in the midst of the Cumberland Mountains. The ground was covered with snow; many of the smaller streams were coated with ice. Those in the valleys were swollen by recent rains, and 1753 across their icy floods the travelers were compelled to make their way by wading or swimming. Only the larger streams were ferried on rude rafts, the horses swimming by the side of the primitive boats. At night they camped in the snow, constructing beds of the boughs of trees, and satisfying their vigorous hunger with the flesh of wild game. On the 23d of November they reached the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, where these two streams unite in forming the Ohio. Here Washington's military instinct told him was the proper location for a fort, and he so recommended on his return to Virginia. A Delaware chief named Shinghais joined them at this place; and after half a day devoted to rest he conducted them to the Indian village of Logstown, twenty miles down the Ohio. This place is now in Beaver County, Pa., and is noted for its many interesting historical associations.

Washington reaches site of Pittsburg

At Logstown Washington met the celebrated chief Tanacharison, known in history as the Half-King, he and his tribe being subject to the Iroquois. He was therefore only half a king, because he could do nothing without the sanction of his masters in the northeast. But he was a bold and patriotic warrior, sincerely devoted to the best interest of his people. He had already warned both the English and the French to leave the country; but the traders of the former had represented that they desired only to trade with the Indians, and that neither they nor their people

The Half-King

would ever make an effort to rob the red men of their country. Deceived by these fair promises, he trusted the English and extended his friendship to them; but he soon had reason to know that when it came to the acquirement of land, they were more rapacious than the French. To the latter he said: "Fathers, the Great Spirit assigned this land to be the place of our residence, so I desire you to withdraw, as I have done to our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal shares with." The French, knowing his subjection to the Iroquois, who could command his course in any event, treated his appeal with contempt; hence his friendship for the English at the time of Washington's visit and afterward.

1753

The Half-King's tombstone

Tarrying several days at Logstown, Washington, through the influence of the Half-King, assembled a council of the surrounding natives; to them he made known the object of his journey, and solicited guides to conduct him to the French commander's headquarters, still distant about one hundred and twenty miles. The Half-King himself volunteered as one of the guides, and two other noted chiefs, Jeskakake and White Thunder, also joined the expedition. An expert Indian hunter was induced to accompany the party and superintend the securing of game; and thus reinforced and equipped, they set out to accomplish the remainder of their journey. At Venango they

Washington leaves Logstown

1753-4

were received by the French commandant, Joncaire, with great kindness and hospitality; but secretly he attempted to corrupt the Indian guides and induce them to break faith with Washington, but without success. During the time that the party remained at Venango, Joncaire and his officers indulged freely in wine, and under its influence they made a number of indiscreet admissions. Says Washington in his journal: "They told me it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by God they would do it; for, that although they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs."

French boast of ability to expel English

Being informed of the French commandant's treachery, Washington resumed his journey and pushed on to Le Bœuf, where M. de St. Pierre received him with evidently sincere cordiality. This officer proved to be a man of very different mold from Joncaire. He was past middle age, a knight of the order of St. Louis, and a gentleman of unquestioned honor. Dinwiddie's letter, which Washington now delivered, was couched in the most abrupt terms; but St. Pierre was too accomplished a diplomat to manifest any resentment at the discourtesy of the language. Dinwiddie asserted that all the lands on the Ohio belonged to the Crown of Great Britain; he expressed surprise at the encroachment of the French; demanded by whose authority an armed force had crossed the lakes, and peremptorily

Washington with St. Pierre

required their speedy return. St. Pierre refused to discuss these questions. "I am here," said he, "by the orders of my superiors, to which I shall conform with exactness." For days he entertained Washington and his party in the most hospitable manner, then delivered a sealed reply to the young envoy and dismissed them.

1753-4

Washington's mission ended

During this time Washington had been permitted to wander at will over the fortifications and through the adjacent forests; and from his observations, he was convinced that the French were preparing for an early advance southward in considerable force. He had also learned from the Indians at Logstown that another party of French were ascending the country from New Orleans, with a view to uniting with their countrymen on the waters of the Ohio. The fort at Le Bœuf was neither extensive nor formidable, showing that it was intended only for temporary use; but the stock of arms, cannon, and military stores bore evidence to the expectation of a larger force. The barracks, consisting of log-cabins with roofs of birch-bark, stood on the banks of a tributary of the Alleghany; and in the woods bordering on this stream he found fifty birch-bark canoes, and one hundred and seventy rude flat-bottomed boats of pine boards. These he rightly conjectured were intended to convey the French army down the Alleghany to the Ohio; and by estimating the number of men each would carry, he was enabled to form an approximately correct idea of the size of the force.

Learns French preparations

1754

All these matters were reported to the authorities on his return, and proved to be of great advantage in planning future expeditions. He was convinced that the French intended to occupy, with their strongest works, the peninsula at the junction of the three rivers, and he earnestly advised the immediate establishment of a fort there. His sound military judgment made him realize the importance of the place, and he would anticipate the French by occupying it before they could do so; but the dilatory movements of the authorities rendered his advice useless. The French got there first.

Washington foresees French plans

The return journey was even more laborious and eventful than the outward trip had been. They had left their horses at Venango to recuperate while the journey to and from Le Bœuf was being made, partly by land and partly in canoes. At one place as they returned, the current dashed their frail boats against the rocks and almost wrecked them; in shallow places they waded and carried the canoes, the water congealing on their clothes; and in bends of the river, where the ice had packed and frozen solidly, they carried the canoes across the necks of land. Their progress required unceasing effort and continuous labor. It was an experience by which the youthful commander was hardened for greater difficulties in the future.

Return journey

On arriving at Venango, they found that but little attention had been given to their horses, the animals being so weak that they could not be mounted; and the party accordingly proceeded on foot, the cold meanwhile being intense. At length, anxious to return with his dispatches, Washington selected Gist as his only traveling companion; and wrapping himself in an Indian blanket, and taking his pack on his back and his gun in his hand, he set out on a strict course, by the compass, for the head of the Ohio. Thus the two men trudged on, alone in the great forest, sleeping in the snow wherever night overtook them, and depending for their food entirely upon the wild game which their rifles secured. Soon after separating from the rest of the party, they were fired upon by an Indian—who, as they afterward learned, had lain in ambush at the instigation of Joncaire; but although only fifteen feet distant he missed his aim, and was made prisoner by his intended victims. Gist, with the instincts of an Indian-fighter, would have killed him on the spot, "but Washington forbade." At night they turned their captive free; then, walking half a mile, they kindled a fire to deceive any lurking foes, after which they continued on their journey, pushing their way through the forest all that night and the next day until after dark, before they felt that they were safe enough to sleep. Then they rested beneath the leafless trees.

1754

Washington's and Gist's return journey

Ambushed at French instigation

On reaching the Alleghany they labored all day with a single hatchet, in the construction of a raft; but no sooner had they launched their primitive boat and pushed it into the current than it was caught in the drifting ice. Washington,

Crossing the Alleghanies

1754

throwing out the pushing-pole to force the raft forward, was wrenched into the river, and saved himself only by grasping the logs and drawing himself upon them. With much difficulty they now made their way to an island, where they spent a night of misery in their drenched and frozen clothing. This island is opposite the United States arsenal at Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, a short distance above Pittsburg, and still bears the appropriate name of Washington Island. The night was so intensely cold that by morning the river was frozen over, and they made their way in safety to the southeastern shore. That evening they reached the house of a pioneer named Frazier, near the spot where Braddock was defeated a year and a half later. Here they slept in comfort, and recuperated for the remainder of the journey which still lay before them.

Washington nearly drowned

At length, on the 16th of January of 1754, Major Washington arrived at Williamsburg and delivered his message to the governor. He had been absent eleven weeks, and during the time had traveled nearly twelve hundred miles, through dangers and difficulties that would have appalled a heart less stout than his, and discouraged any nature not firmly fixed in principle.

Reaches Williamsburg

Dinwiddie, a bureaucratic and choleric Scotchman, was deeply incensed on opening the letter of St. Pierre. That officer, employing the brief and blunt language of a soldier, declared that it was not his place to discuss the questions which had been submitted to him; that such a message as

St. Pierre's reply

1754

St. Pierre refuses to withdraw

Major Washington bore should have been sent to the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, under whose orders he was acting. He furthermore stated that he would rigidly obey the orders under which he was acting, and that the summons to retire from the country bordering on the waters of the Ohio would not be complied with.

Virginia Council raises force to make him

Washington and Trent

Dinwiddie, immediately assembling his council, laid the matter before that body; whereupon, without waiting for the meeting of the House of Burgesses, it resolved to take the necessary steps for expelling the French from Virginia territory. Arrangements were entered into for the enlistment of two militia companies of one hundred men each for this service; and volunteers having promptly responded, the companies were formed into a small battalion, and the command assigned to Major Washington. He had enlisted one of the companies at Alexandria and in that vicinity, from among the young men of his acquaintance; while the other was organized by Captain Trent, who filled his ranks with hunters and border men from the region surrounding Winchester. The battalion was composed of the best fighting material the country afforded, as the men themselves proved at a later date, when they saved Braddock's army from annihilation. It was agreed that the entire force should rendezvous at Will's Creek; and Captain Trent, being near that point, led his men there as soon as they were organized. Meanwhile, in compliance with Washington's recommendation, the Ohio Company had sent a party of thirty men to erect a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, where they were soon afterward joined by a portion of Captain Trent's company.

1754

Southern colonies raise army to expel French

While these matters were in progress, during the winter of 1753-4, the Virginia House of Burgesses met; and realizing the importance of the movements then under way, voted $50,000 in support of the Ohio expedition. About the same time the Carolinas voted $60,000 for the same purpose; whereupon Governor Dinwiddie decided to increase the force to three hundred men, to be divided into six companies. This constituted a small regiment, the chief command of which was given to Colonel Joshua Fry, with Washington as second. Fry was an Oxford graduate, but with no knowledge or experience of the art of war save what he had gained during a brief service as colonel of militia, no pioneering experience or woodcraft, and practically no knowledge of Indian life, character, or methods, having never been thrown in contact with them except for a short interval while serving as a member of the colonial boundary commission. Why a man so entirely unqualified should have been selected to lead so important an expedition, is one of the political mysteries common to all times: most likely he thought himself a great captain *in posse,* insisted on having the place, and controlled the political strings.

Colonel Fry

On the 3d of April two companies, under Washington's immediate command, set out for

1754

Adam Stephen

Alexandria. On the way there they were joined by a small additional force under Captain Adam Stephen, who at a later date was promoted to the position of lieutenant-colonel, and remained in command of the western troops at Winchester during Washington's absence. He proved to be a brave and efficient officer, but was addicted to intemperance, which eventually proved his ruin. During the Revolutionary War, Stephen gained great distinction, rising to the high position of major-general; and at the battle of Germantown he commanded one of the divisions of the patriot army. Here, confused by a heavy fog, his men came in conflict with those under General Wayne, and a number in both commands were killed and wounded. General Stephen, who was accused of being intoxicated at the time, was held responsible for the blunder, which also caused the loss of the battle; and he was soon afterward tried by court-martial and dismissed from the service.

French capture force at Ohio junction

Washington arrived at Will's Creek about the 20th of April, where he received the unwelcome information that a day or two previously the men at the Ohio Fork had been attacked by a French force of one thousand men, mainly Indians, under command of Captain Contrecœur, and compelled to surrender. Ensign Ward of Captain Trent's company was in command at the time, his entire force consisting of but forty-one men. They were paroled by the French commander, and Ward himself brought news of the disaster. Contrecœur finished and strengthened the stockade

1754

which Ward and his men had begun, and named it Fort Duquesne, in honor of the governor of Canada.

Contrecœur builds Fort Duquesne

We shall hear more of Contrecœur, who remained in command of the post until after the defeat of Braddock, on which occasion he proved himself to be an inhuman wretch and a coward. But he was energetic in his efforts to complete the stockade and prepare for the expected attack by the colonial army. His force consisted of about two hundred and forty French regulars and eighteen pieces of artillery, besides about seven hundred Indians; who, however, could not be depended upon in a case of emergency, owing to the fact that they were at heart as hostile to the French as to the English. Regarding each as equally their enemies, they were prepared to pursue whatever course seemed best calculated to weaken or destroy both. However, they remained faithful to the French during the preliminary transactions of the war, and thus made up their principal apparent strength. Contrecœur caused all the forest trees near enough to the stockade to afford an attacking party shelter to be cut down; and in the clearing he planted seeds, that his men might have fresh vegetables and corn later in the season. Log-cabins with bark roofs, and of sufficient capacity to afford barracks for the troops, were erected within the stockade, and every preparation was made to hold the place permanently.

Indian allies

Colonel Fry had not yet arrived at Will's Creek with the artillery and the larger part of

1754

the command, so that Washington had only about one hundred and fifty men and a few small cannon at his disposal. But while hesitating what course to pursue in so critical a position, he received a pathetic message from his old friend the Half-King, which forced him to a decision at once. "Come to our assistance as soon as you can," said the Half-King, "or we are lost, and shall never meet again. I speak it in the grief of my heart." Washington sent a wampum belt in reply, and assured his "friend and brother" that he would come to his relief.

Half-King appeals to Washington against French

He now pushed forward with his entire force, intending to approach as near the enemy as he could with safety, and there intrench and await the arrival of Colonel Fry. He hoped to reach the junction of Red Stone Creek with the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles from Fort Duquesne; but on arriving at a point a few miles beyond the Great Meadows he received another message from the Half-King, which said, "Be on your guard: the French army intend to strike the first English whom they shall see." The same day he received a third message, saying that the French were only eighteen miles away, at the crossing of the Youghiogheny, and coming with a force that would overwhelm his little party. On receiving this alarming intelligence Washington returned to the Great Meadows, where, according to his own statement, "with nature's assistance he made a good intrenchment, and prepared a charming field for an encounter." Upon these hastily constructed

Washington intrenches at Great Meadows

and inadequate works he bestowed the appropriate name of Fort Necessity. Nature imparted a certain degree of strength to the position, and the results of the battle which soon followed proved the military sagacity of the youthful leader.

1754

Fort Necessity

Parties were mounted on wagon-horses and sent out to scour the woods in every direction, but they were unable to discover any signs of an enemy. The French and Indians were approaching by careful and timid stages, for they were not sure either as to the numbers or the character of the opposing force. The first night the soldiers slept on their arms, expecting an attack at any moment; but the oppressive stillness remained unbroken until about two o'clock in the morning, when a nervous soldier aroused the garrison by firing his musket. Instantly the men sprang to arms, and remained in the ranks until daylight; but no enemy appeared. The nervous sentinel had seen nothing but a shadow. On the morning of the third day Gist came into the fort, and brought news that he had seen signs of the enemy only five miles distant. Being a brave and experienced scout, his report was accepted as true. The enemy were gradually closing in upon the little band.

Waiting for the onset

Soon after the arrival of Gist, another messenger came from the Half-King, bringing the information that his warriors had discovered the hiding-place of a detachment of fifty men, who were preparing an ambuscade for any party of English that might venture out. The Half-King

Ambush reported

begged his white brother to come to his assistance in order that they might capture these skulkers, and thereby strike terror into the hearts of the enemy. Selecting a few Indians and forty expert riflemen, Washington returned with the messenger to the Half-King's town. This was not a proper thing for the commander to do. He should have delegated this service to a subordinate, as he would have done later in life; but he was young then, inexperienced in the arts and dangers of war, and eager for the excitement of battle.

1754

Half-King asks Washington to help beat up French

When he arrived at the Indian village the Half-King greeted him affectionately, and led the way at once to the council chamber; for these formal red men could undertake no important enterprise without a previous consideration in council. It was agreed that they should join hands and go together to strike the French in their own ambuscade; a species of warfare that greatly pleased the sanguinary dispositions of the impatient savages. Not many warriors were at the disposal of the Half-King, but such as he had were soon assembled; and with painted faces, and rifle and tomahawk in hand, they were eager for the fray. Two experienced Indian scouts preceded the party and pointed out the trail of the Frenchmen, who lay concealed in a ledge of rocks away from the beaten path. Washington, aware of the dangers that surrounded him, and anxious about the men in the fort, was careful to avoid a surprise; but at the same time he pushed forward as rapidly as possible, that he might reach the

Allied party set out

enemy before they became aware of his presence through their scouts. 1754

Each party discovered the other about the same time; and Washington, who was in advance and on the right wing of his diminutive army, shouted "Fire!" The men, expecting the command, responded so promptly that the discharge of their pieces sounded like a single volley. The French were taken wholly unawares. The ambuscaders were themselves ambuscaded. Several Frenchmen fell at the first discharge, among them De Jumonville their commander. A sharp fight of fifteen minutes ensued, the French concentrating all their fire on the right wing, where Washington stood. One man fell dead near him, and three others were wounded. This was the young hero's baptism of fire, but he did not flinch from the ordeal. It seemed on the contrary to inspire him with a lofty courage. In a letter to his brother, written a few days afterward, he said, "I fortunately escaped without any wound," and in the postscript he added, "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." In this confidential admission to his brother we get an inner view of the workings of his great soul, and we see that he was eminently human. He was not the cold and formal character history makes him appear; he was like other men.

Jumonville's ambuscade ambuscaded

Washington enjoys the fray

In this hot little fight of a quarter of an hour, ten Frenchmen were killed, including their commander; and twenty-one were captured, the

1754

remainder escaping into the woods. The Indians in Washington's party scalped the dead, and if there were any wounded they slew them, for no wounded were reported in the casualities. As usual in such encounters at that time, the savages, after the battle was over, became unmanageable, and Washington did not have men enough to enforce his will. One of their chiefs bore a scalp and a tomahawk to each of the tribes of the Miami confederacy, inviting them to unite with the English and the Six Nations in their war with the French; but the Miamis adhered to their doubtful policy, and helped the French more than they did the English. Washington conducted his prisoners back to Fort Necessity, whence they were soon afterward sent over the mountains into eastern Virginia. These were the first prisoners captured in legitimate warfare in the Seven Years' War.

Indians murder wounded

Miamis remain divided

The French made a great outcry about the affair with Jumonville, declaring that his mission was a peaceful one and the battle a massacre. Washington was denounced as an assassin, and his private character maligned. He was attacked in the most vicious and hostile manner by the French writers of that period; but by all the contemporary evidence it was clearly established, then and afterward, that Jumonville's mission was hostile. His party was a detachment of a considerable army under Contrecœur, which had committed the first overt act of the war by attacking and capturing the fort at Ohio Fork. Jumonville and his men skulked in the woods, they

Truth about Jumonville

1754

concealed their place of encampment, and sent scouts to within five miles of Fort Necessity, as shown by the report of Gist. These were not peaceable indications. The Half-King, a shrewd and wary savage, believed that the French were planning an ambuscade, and sent word to Washington warning him of the danger. When the latter, in conjunction with the Half-King and his warriors, made the attack on the French camp, they did not show the white flag, but sprang instantly to arms and made a vigorous defense.

Jumonville's party an ambuscade

It would be absurd to claim, in the face of all these facts, that Jumonville was coming on a peaceful errand. His business was to ascertain the strength and position of the colonial force, in order that they might be attacked with advantage; and Washington was fully justified in ordering his troops to fire the moment they discovered the concealed camp. It will be remembered, also, that his force was smaller than that of the French, and he could not afford to give them any advantage by waiting to parley. He caught them in their own trap, and history justifies and commends him for the courage and good sense with which he managed the affair.

Washington justified

After the battle Washington returned to the Half-King's village, where he prepared a report of the engagement and sent it to Colonel Fry, who was then sick at Will's Creek. That officer died the second day after the date of the report, and the leadership of the entire force devolved upon Washington. He now had about four hundred

Washington succeeds Fry

men in his command, including a company of South-Carolinians under Captain Mackey; and at a council of war, it was decided with this inadequate force to risk an attack on Fort Duquesne. Washington urged this course, relying on the co-operation of the friendly Indians, and being unwilling to return to the settlement without having accomplished something worthy of the expedition. The entire force was therefore brought forward to Gist's plantation on the Youghiogheny, where intrenchments were thrown up to serve as a protection to the army in case of defeat.

1754

Assault on Fort Duquesne planned

But before they were ready to advance, the scouts reported that the French had been heavily reinforced and were on the march to attack the English. It was thereupon decided to abandon the camp at Gist's plantation and retire to the Great Meadows, where the surroundings were much better adapted to a successful defense against a large force. The army reached the latter place on the first of July, bringing all the stores, arms, and ammunition; and immediately set to work at constructing a ditch and abatis and strengthening the stockades. The meadows consisted of a level bottom about two hundred and fifty yards in width, where Fort Necessity stood, with a small stream running through the centre which supplied water to the garrison. All the trees within rifle shot were cleared away, that they might not serve as cover for the enemy.

Washington retires to Fort Necessity

On the third of July the French and Indians made their appearance, about nine hundred strong, under command of M. de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville. They surrounded the fort and began their attack about eleven o'clock in the morning; but manifested so much dread of the Virginia riflemen that they did not at first advance near enough to do any execution. The Indians especially refused to leave the protection of the timber; and for a long time the firing was conducted at a range of nearly six hundred yards, which rendered it utterly futile. Rain had begun to fall early in the morning, and by noon it came down in torrents, greatly to the discomfort of the troops and the injury of their ammunition. Seeing that the enemy would not approach within rifle shot, Washington led his men out of the intrenchments and advanced as if intending to attack; the men having strict orders not to fire until the French and Indians came within range of their guns. But the ruse was not successful; the enemy retired as the colonists advanced, and fearing that he might be led into an ambuscade, Washington ordered his company back into the trenches, which were now almost filled with water. Their situation was extremely uncomfortable, and the water and the rain rendered their rifles almost useless.

1754

French assault Fort Necessity

Washington's bad situation

Under these conditions both parties kept up a desultory fire throughout the day, without decisive results on either side. Twelve of the Virginians, however, were killed, and forty-three wounded. There was also some loss among the Carolinians, but it was never reported. At dark

1754

De Villiers sent proposals for capitulation, which Washington at first declined; but at a subsequent council of the officers it was decided that no successful resistance could be made against so large a force, and the negotiations were renewed. The French commander having offered terms that were highly honorable, they were accepted. The colonials were to march out of the fort with the honors of war, carrying away everything except the artillery, which was to be left as a trophy for the French. They were guaranteed safe-conduct to Will's Creek, Washington agreeing in return to restore the prisoners he had taken in the engagement with Jumonville, and that the English should not penetrate beyond the mountains or erect any kind of an establishment there for the space of a year.

Washington surrenders Fort Necessity

The conditions, however, were immediately violated by a party of one hundred savages who had just arrived to reinforce the French. As the colonists marched out of the intrenchments, these Indians pressed upon and threatened them with their tomahawks, at the same time plundering their baggage and committing other overt acts. But the French commander was not held responsible for the outrage, since he could not prevent it; and Washington excused him on the ground that he himself had been unable to control his savage allies after the skirmish with Jumonville. It was agreed that the French should retain Captain Vanbraam and another officer named Stobo as hostages for the faithful performance of the

Indians break agreement

conditions of surrender; but they also kept eight soldiers, contrary to the stipulations, and sent the whole party to Canada. In consequence of these irregularities, Governor Dinwiddie subsequently refused to deliver up the Jumonville prisoners; but after a good deal of acrimonious correspondence between the representatives of the two governments, each holding its rival's infraction the worst, all the men on both sides were released and sent to their respective homes.

1754

French-English recriminations

On arriving at Will's Creek, Washington left the army under command of Colonel Stephen and set out for Williamsburg, accompanied by Captain Mackay; but he personally communicated the events of the campaign to the Governor. The House of Burgesses, then in session, approved in a general way all that had been done in the field. They likewise extended a special vote of thanks to Washington and his officers; excepting the major of the regiment, who had been charged with cowardice, and Captain Vanbraam, who was believed to have acted a treacherous part in misinterpreting to Washington the terms of surrender. These were written in French, a language with which he was not familiar; and contained an expression which might be construed into an admission on his part of having assassinated Jumonville. Had he known this he would not have signed the agreement; and it was upon this misconstruction that the French writers founded their infamous charges against the young Virginian. Vanbraam, who translated the terms to

Washington's report

Interpreter's blunder or treachery

Washington, either omitted the offensive word or gave it a wrong interpretation, and he was therefore regarded by his contemporaries as a traitor. This was the man who had accompanied Washington as interpreter on his mission to Fort Le Bœuf, as will be remembered. History is silent as to what finally became of him.

1754

Vanbraam

While these stirring events were in progress, other measures of a civil character, but even of greater importance, had been set in motion. The home government had sent instructions to the colonies not to permit any encroachments by the French on their territorial or other rights, agreeing to support them in any measures that might become necessary in that connection. They were also advised to form a union among themselves, and to call a grand council of the friendly and neutral tribes of Indians, with a view to bringing them over to the British interests. For this purpose the colonial governors were advised to provide liberal presents for the sachems and chiefs, and to make the council of such a character that it would permanently impress the savage mind.

Home government advises colonies to unite

It will be observed that this first definite suggestion of a union of the colonies came from England; the motive, however, being a selfish one. The home government dreaded the French power, and desired to neutralize or offset it by a combination of the American provinces. At the same time it was apprehensive of the growing spirit of independence manifested by the colonists, and

Its object

hesitated about bringing them together in a union that might prove dangerous to the imperial government. Had England, at that particular time, pursued the course which has since marked her colonial policy, she would—for a time at least—have retained her American territory and made herself mistress of the world; but it needed precisely the Revolution and the loss of America to make that course obvious or even possible for her statesmen. Yet they suggested the proper course for the colonies to pursue, not only for their own protection, but for the strength and glory of the empire.

1754

English policy then and later

GEORGE THE SECOND.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Plans for the approaching campaigns were carefully matured. Major-General Edward Braddock, then regarded as one of the ablest officers in the British army, was selected as commander-in-chief of all the English forces in America. He was in his sixtieth year, forty of which had been spent in military service. He had been lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards, one of the oldest and most famous English regiments with a continuous history. As a tactician, according to the tactics of his day, he excelled; but he was self-conceited, supercilious, intensely prejudiced against everything outside of England, and like most regular soldiers, incredulous of any good outside of drill and natty uniforms. He was a martinet who had mastered the technics of his trade, not a born captain with original military insight, even of the second rank; which is to say, of that stubborn, unpliable character that could not accommodate itself to changing circumstances. Yet he knew a good officer and great man when he met him, and his conduct to Washington honors his judgment and sense as much as his conduct toward the white rangers and Indian allies discredits it. Associated with him as seconds in command

1754–5

Braddock

were Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell of Massachusetts. The latter was distinguished for his conquest of Louisbourg, and regarded everywhere in the colonies as a man of superior ability; his appointment was very popular, but he took no active part in the war.

1754-5

Pepperrell

Braddock was supported by two of the best Irish regiments, the 44th and the 48th, numbering five hundred men each, with a full complement of stores and provisions and a superb train of artillery. These soldiers were splendidly uniformed, armed, and drilled, and personally brave; but they did not understand the French and Indian mode of fighting, and in the test of battle were outclassed by the provincials of Virginia. The 44th had formerly been commanded by General John Lee—father of Charles Lee of Revolutionary fame, who was now serving as a lieutenant in one of the companies; it was at present commanded by Sir Peter Halkett, who, with his youngest son James, was killed in the battle of Monongahela. The 48th was commanded by Colonel Thomas Dunbar, who proved to be both incompetent and timid.

Braddock's regulars

Their colonels

Among the other officers in this disastrous campaign were several who subsequently became famous on both sides in the struggle for American independence. One was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage of the 44th, now thirty-four, already noted in the European wars; twenty years later commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and head of the British army in Boston at the outbreak of the Revolution. He displayed

Gage

conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Monongahela, and was severely wounded. Captain Horatio Gates was another; an Englishman by birth, who had served in Nova Scotia under Edward Cornwallis, uncle of the future Lord Cornwallis, now a major in the British army. He joined the expedition as commander of two independent companies from New York, and in the battle was shot through the body, incapacitating him for service for several years; had it been permanently, neither his repute nor the interests of this country would have suffered. Of far more brilliant fame, though here in the humble capacity of a teamster, was Daniel Morgan, co-victor of Saratoga with Arnold, and conqueror of Tarleton at the Cowpens.

1754–5

Gates

Morgan

Braddock landed at Hampton, Virginia, February 20, 1755; but his troops debarked at Alexandria, whither the Virginia levies had been directed. Proceeding first to Williamsburg, he conferred with Dinwiddie and the provincial authorities, after which he traveled overland to Alexandria. There he issued a letter calling various colonial governors to meet him in conference, and urging them to form a common fund for military operations. Six of them attended: Shirley of Massachusetts, De Lancey of New York, Sharpe of Maryland, Morris of Pennsylvania, Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Dobbs of North Carolina. Admiral Keppel, commander of the royal navy in America, was also present. Washington had shortly before resigned from the service; but

Conference of colonial governors

Braddock, knowing his worth, urged him in a most kind and respectful letter to join the expedition, offering him the position of aide-de-camp with the title of colonel to save questions of rank. This Washington accepted, and becoming a member of the general's official family, was present at most of the daily meetings of the governors.

1755

Braddock makes Washington his aide

It was resolved at this convention to attack the French from four different points at the same time. They were to be driven from Acadia (Nova Scotia); Crown Point and Niagara were to be invested by two separate divisions; while Braddock himself was to capture Fort Duquesne, subdue the French posts in the Ohio Valley, and then join the expedition at Niagara. For these purposes the royal government was to supply six thousand regulars, including the two regiments under Braddock; while funds were to be furnished the colonial governors to enlist a strong contingent of provincials. Could all these plans have been carried out, the contest would have been terminated quickly; but of course defeat was possible in either and probable somewhere. In fact, that of Braddock—an event so unexpected that it was not even considered—disarranged all the plans, extended the war to seven years, and brought more than fifty thousand men into the field.

Plans for campaigns

The fatal flaw

During the winter preceding, the French had reduced their garrison at Fort Duquesne to about two hundred men, nearly half of whom were Indians, who came and went at their own pleasure. Had a dash been made against that post at the

Fort Duquesne

outset, it would have fallen without a blow, and the entire Ohio country have come into possession of the English; after which the early conquest of Canada would have been almost certain. But the French were soon informed of what was going on, and Contrecœur, withdrawing the garrisons from several other Ohio stations, concentrated them at Duquesne until he had nearly a thousand men. The time for surprise had passed; still, a quick, energetic movement, with the men and artillery at Braddock's disposal, would have resulted in its capture. Half of Contrecœur's force was composed of Indians, who could not endure the cannon; they would have fled at the first discharge, compelling a speedy surrender to Braddock's overwhelming force.

Conditions at Fort Duquesne

Braddock did not leave Alexandria until April 20, and marching by way of Winchester, reached Will's Creek about the 10th of May. There he remained until the last of June, unable to move his heavy stores for lack of transportation, and not willing to proceed without them. This long delay gave the French ample time for defense.

Braddock's detention

Meanwhile a French fleet, carrying three thousand veteran troops, sailed from Brest for Nova Scotia, and was followed soon afterward by additional reinforcements. Instead of meeting these ships with an adequate naval force and destroying or capturing them, Admiral Boscawen was sent to the banks of Newfoundland with a squadron but half the enemy's strength. He succeeded, however, in capturing two of the French ships and six

French reinforcing fleet harassed

hundred men; but the others were permitted to land their forces undisturbed.

1755

Franklin visits Braddock

While waiting and fretting at Will's Creek, and abusing the Americans because they would not or could not supply him with the means of transportation, Braddock was visited by Benjamin Franklin, now postmaster-general for the colonies; in his fiftieth year, and one of the foremost men on this side of the Atlantic. His ostensible mission was to arrange for the prompt transmission of Braddock's dispatches to and from the royal governors; but as usual with Franklin, there was policy beyond. A majority of the Pennsylvania Assembly were Quakers, and had been informed that Braddock was prejudiced against them on account of their principles of non-resistance and their unwillingness to vote supplies for his army; therefore Franklin, the placid philosopher, was sent to make peace. He found the general waiting impatiently the return of his agents, whom he had sent through the back settlements of Virginia and Maryland to procure horses and wagons. The two were together several days, and formed a mutual sentiment of friendship and regard. At a later date Franklin expressed his opinion of Braddock as follows:

Object of visit

Opinion of Braddock

"The general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the value of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our

Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him."

1755

Braddock loses Indian services

About the time Franklin was ready to depart, the agents returned, and reported that with their utmost efforts they had been able to procure only twenty-five wagons. Braddock flew into a passion, declared that he would abandon the expedition, and protested loudly against the ministry for sending him into such a barbarous country, where he could not obtain the necessary facilities to move his army. His officers joined him in declaring that the campaign would have to be abandoned. When their heat had somewhat cooled, Franklin expressed a regret that they had not landed in Pennsylvania, where every farmer had his wagon. The general instantly seized upon this suggestion, and addressing Franklin, exclaimed eagerly, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it."

Few teams obtainable

The philosopher first inquired the terms that would be offered the farmers, and finding them satisfactory consented to undertake the matter. One hundred and fifty wagons, with a full complement of teams and drivers, were required. He returned at once to Lancaster, where he had an advertisement printed and circulated, stating what was desired, and the urgency of the occasion. He appealed to the loyalty and patriotism of the

Franklin to the rescue

WINGATE JUNIOR COLLEGE

people, reminding them that the King had sent his 1755 troops to America for their defense; and warning them that violent measures would probably be employed if they did not voluntarily furnish the needed supplies. He closed his appeal in these words:—

Franklin's appeal and threat for transportation

"I have no particular interest in this affair, as, except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do good, I shall have only my labor for my pains. If this method of obtaining wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for that purpose, which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher."

Successful

Franklin personally responsible

The appeal had the desired effect. Within two weeks one hundred and fifty wagons and two hundred and fifty-nine carrying-horses, with the necessary complement of teamsters and drivers, were on the way to the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to valuation for any horses or wagons that might be lost; but the owners, alleging that they did not know General Braddock or what dependence might be placed in his promises, insisted that Franklin should give bond for the performance of the conditions. In the subsequent defeat and rout of the army all the horses and wagons were lost, whereupon the owners demanded payment of Franklin. At that time his entire possessions did not amount to the appraised loss, which was over $100,000; and he declares in his autobiography that he would have been irretrievably ruined had he been compelled to pay it. 1755 Some of the farmers brought suit against him; but the matter was finally adjusted and paid by the government before legal judgments could be obtained.

Braddock's complacent security

Braddock's ignorance of the methods of frontier warfare was well illustrated in his intercourse with Franklin, during the time that the latter remained in his camp at Will's Creek. "After taking Fort Duquesne," said he to the philosopher, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Franklin felt some fear as to the results of the campaign; but he was too thorough a diplomat to mention this fear to the general. He therefore replied to the latter's over-confident language in the following careful terms: "To be sure, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with those fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not yet completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into

Franklin warns him of ambuscades

several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other." Franklin asserts that the general smiled at his ignorance, and replied: "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible that they should make any impression."

1755

Braddock's contempt of Indians

Braddock was so utterly blinded by his own self-confidence that he sincerely believed all he stated, and Franklin therefore said nothing more; being conscious, as he declared, of the impropriety of a civilian disputing with a military man about matters of his own profession. Washington likewise warned the general against the same dangers that Franklin had pointed out, and his experience ought to have made an impression; but the rebuff which he received was so humiliating to his proud spirit that he thereafter held his peace. "He is incapable," said Washington, "of giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common-sense."

Snubs Franklin and Washington

Not until the 7th of June was the army ready to set out on its final march from Will's Creek. Then, on numbering his men, Braddock found that he had about twenty-two hundred effective troops. Of these, one thousand were the British regulars he had brought with him from Ireland. Thirty English sailors also accompanied the army, to navigate boats on the Lakes when these great inland seas should be reached. Of the colonial contingent there were about twelve hundred men,

Make-up of Braddock's men

clad in as many and varying uniforms as the provinces they represented. Most of them wore buckskin hunting-shirts, with moccasins and leggings of the same material, and carried long rifles that excited the mirth of the British regulars. Besides the foregoing, there was a small company of light and irregular Indian scouts, under command of Captain Croghan; but these independent red men were treated with such contempt by the commander and his principal officers that they fell away gradually, in parties of two and three, until nearly all of them had abandoned the army.

1755

Colonials and Indians with Braddock

There was also a train of brass cannon, the finest ever seen in America till then, with richly uniformed and perfectly drilled artillery-men to handle them. These cannon gave to the army a sense of power and security nothing else could have afforded. As Washington gazed upon the brilliant array of martial splendor, his soul expanded with the ardor of his chosen profession, and he declared that it was the finest spectacle his eyes had ever beheld. He did not accompany the army on the first part of its march from Alexandria; but joined it at Winchester, where he was received with every mark of respect by Braddock and his officers. From Winchester they proceeded by slow and painful marches to Will's Creek, now Cumberland, in Maryland.

Washington on Braddock's force

Soon after reaching Will's Creek, Braddock sent Washington back to Williamsburg for supplies of money, so that he was not present on the occasion of Franklin's visit and during the search

1755

for wagons and teams. The main body of the army was not put in motion until after his return, but five hundred men had been sent forward to open the road and store provisions at Little Meadows. They were soon followed by Sir Peter Halkett with the first brigade; and Braddock himself started on the 10th of June.

Braddock's march begins

The road

The road was the same over which Washington had passed on his former expedition, and he was familiar with its every feature. It led over mountain fastnesses, across rivulets and rushing brooks, and was shrouded on either side with the gloom of an unbroken wilderness. In many places the pathway was not more than ten or twelve feet in width, cumbered with huge stumps and cut into gullies by the washing rains. It had been hewn through the forest to accommodate the rapid march of the Virginia riflemen, and was not suited to the stately progress of an army in solid columns. Braddock insisted that all the obstacles should be removed, the gullies filled and leveled, and the roadway widened. In this manner the army usually did not progress more than four or five miles a day. The same tactics were adhered to as those prevailing in Europe. "They halt," wrote Washington to his brother, "to level every mole-hill and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles."

Braddock's fogyism

Washington worried

Meanwhile Washington constantly urged the need of greater care and more celerity. He even gave up his own saddle-horse to assist in the movement of baggage, and through his anxiety and

1755

over-exertion was at length stricken down with a dangerous fever. On arriving at Great Meadows, the scene of his former exploits, he was compelled to remain in his tent while the army proceeded on its way. Here for fourteen days he lay fretting and tossing on a bed of pain, sustained only by the positive assurance of the commander that the attack on Fort Duquesne should not be made until he came up; for he felt that he could not endure to have the great event of the campaign occur during his absence.

Washington sick

Braddock now selected twelve hundred picked troops and ten pieces of cannon, and placing himself at their head, advanced more rapidly; leaving the remainder of the force, with the heavy artillery and baggage, under Colonel Dunbar, to come on by easy stages. At length, on the evening of the 8th of July, the army encamped near the junction of the Youghiogheny with the Monongahela, where the latter makes a sharp bend to the northeast, and within less than fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne. The camp was on the same side of the river as the fort, with no intervening obstacles except the interminable forests.

Braddock reaches the Youghiogheny

During all this time Contrecœur, the French commander at Duquesne, had been informed each day of the progress of the British army. His Indian scouts hovered constantly about the advancing regiments, cutting off stragglers, and killing and scalping all who were so unfortunate as to fall into their power. They grossly misrepresented the numbers and strength of the British

Harassed by Indians

force, claiming that the solid columns extended a day's journey along the road, and that the redcoats were more numerous than the leaves on the trees. Contrecœur had already decided either to destroy the fort and retreat down the Ohio, or obtain the best terms of surrender that the British general would allow. His entire force consisted of less than a thousand men, of whom nearly eight hundred were Indians, who lay encamped in irregular and dispirited groups about the parapets. On these he knew he could not depend, for they would fly at the first crash of the British artillery.

1755

Contrecœur ready to yield

But while he was contemplating an ignominious retreat or a dishonorable surrender, a bolder character appeared on the scene. This was Captain Hyacinthe Marie de Beaujeu, a French Canadian, who had won his commission in the navy of France. He came with a small reinforcement of Indians, and on learning the condition of affairs, begged to be allowed to form an ambuscade and intercept the British on their march. Contrecœur reluctantly gave his consent: he did not believe that anything could be accomplished by an undertaking so wild and reckless. The entire movement depended of course on the acquiescence of the savages, and at first Beaujeu found them unwilling to give it favorable consideration. They knew the strength of the approaching army, and they dreaded the great guns with which it was so well provided. Thus matters remained, in doubt and uncertainty, until the morning of the battle, when the scouts brought word that the Englishmen were

Beaujeu intervenes

Indians hesitate

H. M. L. DE BEAUJEU.

1755

Beaujeu shames Indians into action

on the march for the fort. Then Beaujeu repaired to the council fire, and bursting, sword in hand, into the midst of the solemn circle, he exclaimed; "I am determined to go out to meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone?" Instantly their whole demeanor changed. From indecision and sullen timidity they passed into a state of fierce desire for the carnage and havoc of battle.

Lays ambush

A report had just come in that the English were crossing the river, and that they were pursuing a course which would require them to cross it again about seven miles from the fort. It was therefore decided to lay the ambush at the second crossing, and fall upon them as they came out of the water. But the regiments moved so rapidly that the advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, was already across the river and upon the north bank by the time that the Indians arrived within half a mile of the place. As they could not proceed further without disclosing their presence, they concealed themselves among the trees and in two large ravines that extended down the side of the hill in the form of a V, and with impatience awaited the approach of their victims.

Braddock's last march

Early in the morning of that fateful 9th of July, Braddock's army broke camp and moved across the river at the lower ford, a detachment having previously been sent ahead to occupy and hold the upper crossing. This appeared to be a judicious and necessary movement. The distance around the bend of the river was considerably greater than across the neck of the peninsula; and if the course of the stream were followed, the road would lead the army through a narrow defile between some high bluffs and the river's bank, where a small number of men might successfully contend against a large force. It was here, indeed, that the ambush was looked for; and Braddock congratulated himself in the belief that he had outwitted the enemy by taking the shorter route. The distance between the two fords was not above five miles, and from the camp to the forks of the Ohio was scarcely twelve; so that the soldiers, relying upon the assurances of their officers, confidently expected to sleep that night behind the walls of Fort Duquesne.

1755

Braddock guards the wrong spot

The march was conducted as if the army had been on parade. The soldiers, wearied by their long and painful advance, were now inspired with the hope of its early termination, and proceeded with a swinging gait that brought them to the second ford about the middle of the day. By one o'clock the entire army had safely crossed over and was ready for the final movement. At this place Washington had expected opposition; but as it did not appear, he began to feel easier, and hoped that his worst fears might prove to be unfounded. At his suggestion, a force of three hundred and fifty men under Gage went forward to beat up the woods and open a safe passage through for the main body. This detachment was accompanied by a working party of two hundred and fifty, with flankers, scouts, and guides; so that nearly

Army reaches second ford

Gage's advance party

one-half the army now marched into the jaws of death. Braddock remained behind to bring up the artillery and the rest of the infantry.

1755

The road leading from the ford northwestward through the woods was a mere path, not more than twelve feet in width, and it was the duty of the workmen to widen this space as they advanced. This was done by cutting and pushing aside the underbrush, so as to admit the columns that followed after. The soldiers kept well up with the axemen, and manifested much impatience because they could not progress more rapidly. Here the fatal mistake of the day was made. If experienced scouts had been sent forward into the timber, they would have discovered the concealed French and Indians in time to save the army, and a splendid victory would have taken the place of a horrible massacre. Instead of pursuing this wise course, Colonel Gage, acting under the orders of his superior, kept his troops and workmen together; so that they advanced in an almost solid body until they came into the well-planned ambuscade.

Gage's party opens up path

But does not scout ahead

About half a mile north of the ford, a hill rises by a gentle ascent to the higher ground beyond; and at the time of the battle the whole side of the hill was covered with open forest and sufficient underbrush to conceal the skulking foe. Very few of them remained where they might be exposed to the fire of the British troops. Their main hope was to lie concealed in some safe place until they could pour in their first deadly volley, and then save themselves by flight. The hillside furnished

Indians only hope to fire and run

1755

the necessary concealment. About one hundred and fifty yards above the foot of the slope, two ravines headed near together, and ran in opposite directions down into the valley. The curve of the hill placed the lines of the enemy, as they passed one another, below the range of their own fire, while it gave them an unobstructed aim on the front and flanks of any body of men that might advance between them.

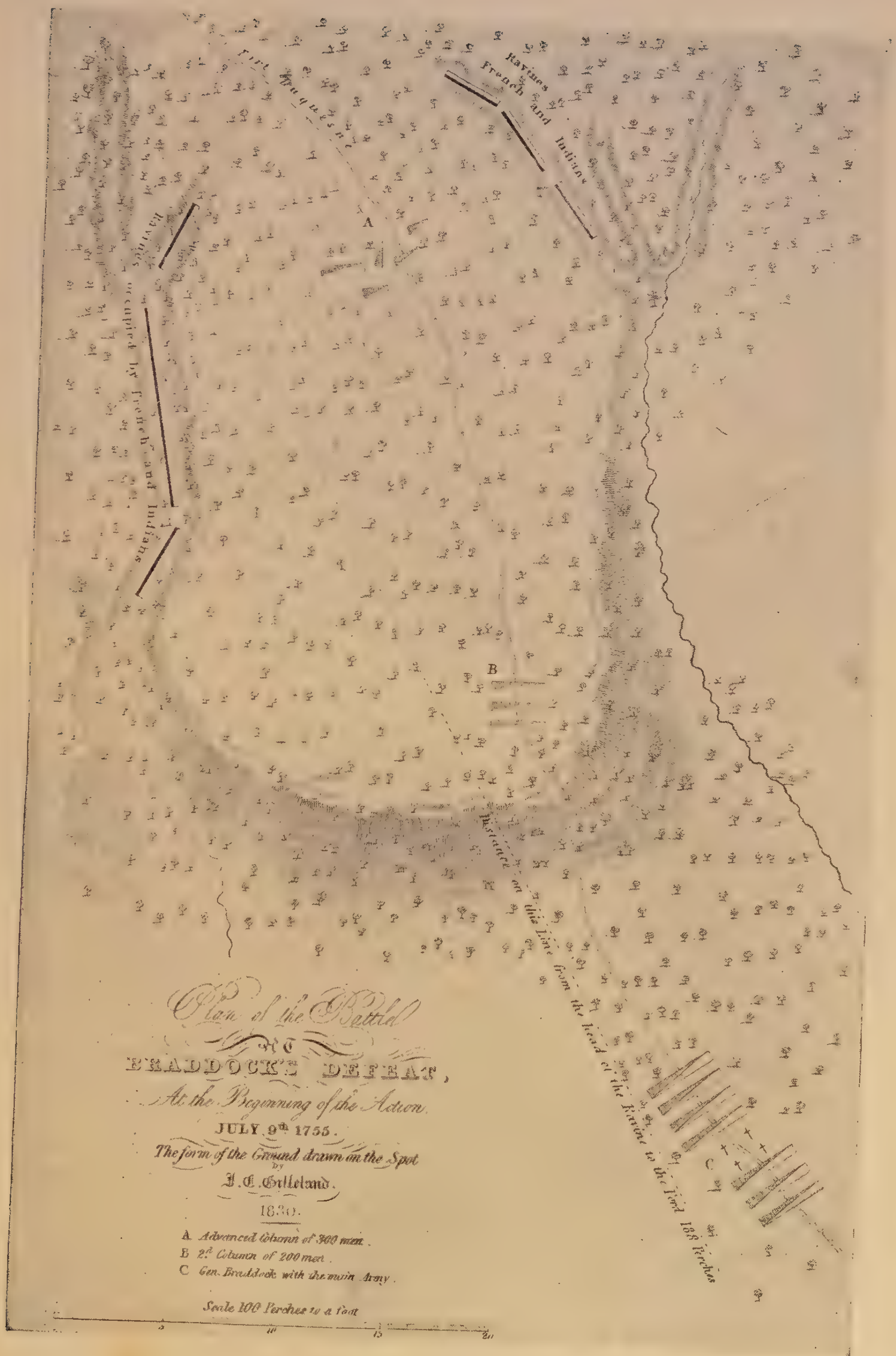
The two ravines

In these two ravines the larger part of the French and Indians lay concealed; but some also were hid in the thick woods near the top of the hill, while scouts and sharpshooters were stationed in the underbrush and behind trees at every point of advantage. The road over which Gage led his men ran up the hill about equally distant from the two lines; but the ravine on his left appeared to contain the greater number of dusky marksmen, for out of this hollow space, and from the woods in front, the first volley was poured into the ranks of the British.

Gage's advance

Slowly the swaying mass of scarlet and gold and flashing steel moved up the hill into the midst of the unseen but watchful foe. Some uneven ground had separated the detachment into two nearly equal parts, and the men in the rear were pressing forward in loose order in their efforts to come up with those in advance. The head of the leading column had almost reached the top of the hill, when, like the sudden explosion of a mine, a sheet of flame shot out of the earth on the left and in front, and whole ranks of men sank down

Front ranks shot down


Fort Duquesne
Ravines
French and Indians
Ravines occupied by French and Indians
A
B
C
Distance on this Line from the head of the Ravine to the Ford 168 Perches
5
10
15
20

Plan of the Battle
at
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT,
At the Beginning of the Action.
JULY 9th 1755.
The form of the Ground drawn on the Spot
by
J. C. Gilleland.
1830.

A Advanced Column of 300 men.
B 2d Column of 200 men.
C Gen. Braddock with the main Army.

Scale 100 Perches to a foot

and melted away before the storm of lead that swept in among them. Before the smoke of the first volley had lifted from the ground, another came out of the ravine on the right and the woods in the rear; after which there was a comparative cessation of firing while the enemy reloaded their pieces. Meanwhile the tall grass that filled the open space among the trees flashed with the measured discharge of sharpshooters' rifles, each carrying a messenger of death into the midst of the English.

1755

Gage's party in the ambush

The brief lull in the firing gave the officers an opportunity to recover control of their men; a few stern commands restored discipline, and the ranks were formed and steadied. At this instant a tall man, gaily dressed in fringed hunting-shirt and buckskin leggings, and wearing a silver gorget on his breast, issued from the woods and came leaping down the hill, sword in hand. It was Beaujeu, the French commander. He was followed by a motley crowd of French and Indians, armed with bayonets and tomahawks, who hoped to rush upon the wavering ranks of the English and drive them back upon those in the rear. But they did not comprehend the character of their opponents. By this time order had been restored, and the men commenced firing by platoons. Beaujeu fell dead at the first discharge, whereupon the Indians fled to the cover of the woods and the ravines once more.

Beaujeu hopes to rout it

Beaujeu killed

It was a critical moment. The savages were on the verge of a panic, and had a sudden rush been made at this juncture by a small body of resolute men, it would have sent them flying from the field. Gage's party had two small six-pounders, a single discharge of which might have won the day. But the cannon were neglected, and the regulars only fired their muskets wildly into the woods, without doing the least execution. This gave time for Dumas, and other French leaders, to rally the Indians and bring them back to the cover of the ravines and trees. Then their fire became more deadly than before. Men fell on all sides, fatally wounded in nearly every instance. It was a butchery rather than a battle. A sudden panic seized upon those in the advance, and falling back in confusion, they mingled with the party that had just come up and was forming for action. This communicated an uncontrollable terror to the whole mass, and they rushed back on the rear-guard, which Braddock was leading to their support. The two cannon, forgotten, became trophies of the enemy.

1755

Indians waver after Beaujeu's death

Recovery and English panic

Braddock, while still superintending the arrangement of his troops at the ford, heard the firing half a mile to the northwest; and leaving four hundred men to guard the baggage, he placed himself at the head of the remainder, and led them forward in solid columns to support the advance. In the face of defeat and disaster, as well as the peculiar tactics of the savage foe, he still clung to his notions of conducting an orderly battle in the open field. He knew that Gage's detachment was retreating, for the noise grew each moment

Braddock brings reinforcements

louder and more distinct. Washington urged him to scatter his men through the woods and let them fight in the Indian fashion, each protecting himself behind some convenient tree. This would have stopped the pursuit, and given the flying companies time to rally and recover from their panic. Braddock ignored him, riding forward at the head of his columns in stately procession; thus affording the very mark that the savages most desired.

1755

Braddock again snubs Washington

Suddenly Gage's detachment, confused, terror-stricken, hatless, and without arms,—for most of them had thrown their guns away,—dashed into Braddock's lines, and the whole command became a wild and ungovernable mob. The men huddled together in a solid mass; single bullets fired into their midst wrought frightful execution. Braddock now displayed his remarkable bravery as a man. Raging like a lion, he dashed from point to point, encouraging, protesting, pleading, and forcing the men into the ranks by the power of his indomitable will. In quick succession four horses were shot under him; but he mounted the fifth and continued his exertions. By this time, however, the English were so panic-stricken that they could not be driven to fight an invisible foe; yet, controlled by their admirable discipline, they formed in ranks and stood like sheep to be slaughtered. Holding their muskets, according to the English custom, at their hips, they fired at random and harmlessly.

Gage's rout disorders main body

Braddock's unintelgent courage

The artillery, which ought to have been the most effective arm possessed by the English, was handled in such a manner as to be entirely useless. 1755 A few rounds were fired at random, the missiles crashing through the branches of the trees, but doing no damage to the enemy. In a few moments every mounted field officer except Washington had fallen, either killed or wounded; and the few on foot who were unhurt employed themselves in vain exertions to keep the men in ranks, or lead small parties in fruitless charges against the unseen foe. At one time a rush was made along the side of the hill and against the ravine on the right, in hope of recovering the lost two six-pounders; but the Indians, giving way to the front, allowed the regulars to advance till their flanks were exposed, when they closed around and nearly the whole party was slaughtered.

Fruitless struggles in the trap

At length, of the eighty-six officers who had gone into the fight, twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded,—sixty-three out of eighty-six,—leaving only twenty-three unharmed. Sir Peter Halkett and his son were among the slain; Sir John St. Clair and Lieutenant-Colonel Gage. both of whom acted with the noblest courage throughout the affair, were badly wounded. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen had been killed or disabled, more than one-half of them being slain outright; and in every instance where the wounded could not drag themselves away from the field, they were tomahawked and scalped by the savages. No prisoners were taken. The dead were stripped of their clothing and accoutrements. In all the frightful history of Indian warfare,

Fearful slaughter of English

Braddock's defeat stands out in bloody prominence both for destruction and for consequences. 1755

The battle had long since been lost, but the stubborn commander refused to yield. With a firm hand he held the men in the ranks to be uselessly slaughtered. The provincials were now the only barrier between the British and certain destruction. They had formed a cordon of fire around the dazed regulars, and with their uncouth rifles held the savages at bay. At length Braddock himself fell, mortally wounded through the arms and lungs. Reeling from his horse, he was caught by Colonel Gage, who, though painfully hurt himself, carried his helpless commander to a place of safety. There, lying in a tumbril, he continued for some time to issue his orders, which were carried to various parts of the field by Colonel Washington, now the only unhurt aide-de-camp.

Colonials save army

Braddock fatally hurt

In a letter to his brother, written soon afterward, Washington said: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, and escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me." Fifteen years after the battle, while Washington and his family physician Dr. Craik were traveling together near the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, they were approached by a party of Indians and an interpreter, headed by a venerable chief, who, addressing the distinguished Virginian, said: "I have come a long way to see Colonel

Washington's singular escape

Washington, for in the battle of the Monongahela 1755 I singled him out from all the rest of the English, and fired my rifle at him fifteen times, directing my young men to do the same; but no one could hit him. I was therefore persuaded that the Great Spirit protected the young man, and ceased firing at him, and told my young men not to harm him." This superstitious reverence was not confined to savages: many intelligent white men believed that he bore a charmed life.

Indian chief believes Washington magically guarded

By this time even the provincials were beginning to suffer heavily. Many, though desperately wounded, dragged themselves to places of safety and continued to load and fire. Even though annihilation threatened them, they kept the savages back, and protected the regulars as they slowly moved away from the field of carnage. "Brave buckskins!" exclaimed Braddock, at each discharge of the Virginia rifles. He had learned, when it was too late, that the Americans constituted the better part of his fighting force.

Provincials still save regulars from destruction

At length, when the remnant of the army had been pressed back to the ford, Braddock ordered the retreat to be sounded. Instantly a wild and senseless panic ensued. A perfect frenzy of fear took possession of the men. They threw away their guns, their cartouch-boxes, their belts, and their hats—everything, in fact, that could in any manner impede their progress. The rear-guard, which had been left at the upper ford, caught the infection and joined in the wild stampede. Teamsters cut the harness of their horses, and each mounting an

Retreat and panic

animal led the way in the rout. Others followed their example; not only taking the remaining horses from the wagons, but also cutting out those which were attached to the artillery, so that the cannon could not have been saved had any one thought of making the effort. Everything fell into the hands of the enemy.

1755

Wild British flight

The wounded commander himself would have been captured, butchered, and not improbably tortured to death, except for the coolness of Washington, the devotion of a few personal friends, and the steady bravery of the provincials. Upon Washington's order, Braddock was lifted from the rough and jolting tumbril and placed in a horse-litter; but the motion so increased the pain of his wound that he was removed to a hammock, which was carried on the shoulders of some of the provincials. For four days he lived in agony, until after the shattered remnant of his army had reached the Great Meadows, when he expired during the night of July 13th. It is said that throughout the remainder of the first day of the battle he did not utter a word, but at night exclaimed, like one waking out of a dream, "Who would have thought it!" He then relapsed into silence, and said nothing more until after the arrival at Fort Necessity, where he spent the last moments of his life in dictating a panegyric on his officers, and praising the faithfulness and courage of the provincials. His last words, uttered a few moments before he expired, were, "We shall know how to deal with them another time." Before his death

Braddock expires

Appreciates colonials at last

1755

Braddock's will

Braddock bequeathed his horse and his own body-servant to Washington, and intrusted him with the duty of arranging his affairs and corresponding with his relatives in England. Then, with a faint struggle and a gasp, the general lay dead in the wild-woods of Pennsylvania.

Lonely burial

The army under Dunbar had already begun its disorderly retreat, leaving none but Washington and a few of the provincials, with several of the British officers who were personally devoted to Braddock, alone with the dead. There was no time to lose in the performance of funeral obsequies, for the little company expected every moment to hear the shouts of the pursuing savages. Within a few minutes after the last breath had been drawn, the body of the general, dressed in full regimentals, with his sword lying on his breast, was buried at night, Colonel Washington reading the solemn service of the Episcopal Church by the flickering light of a pine torch. The grave had been made in the middle of the military road; and after the funeral, the wagons still remaining were driven over it, that the Indians might not discover the place and mutilate the body. But the spot was marked privately, and it is still pointed out, about a mile west of the site of Old Fort Necessity and seven miles east of Uniontown.

Jubilation at Duquesne

Meanwhile, very different scenes were being enacted at Fort Duquesne and on the field where the battle had been fought. The victors made no attempt to pursue the broken regiments beyond the upper ford. A rich harvest awaited them in

1755

the abandoned stores at the ford; while the whole space over which the battle had been fought, from the sloping hill to the river bank, was covered with the scarlet-clad forms of the dead and wounded. The latter were tomahawked, and all were scalped and stripped of their clothing. The rich uniforms of the officers were appropriated by the chiefs, who, decked in scarlet and gold, danced and shouted and shook their bloody weapons in the exuberance of their barbarous exultation. None of them had expected victory to crown their efforts. They left the fort in the morning with no hope beyond gaining a few scalps and temporarily delaying the march of the English; but they returned at night with news of a glorious victory, the evidences of which they displayed in profusion. Their friends, amazed at the result, gave up the whole night to revelry and debauch. Beyond the walls of the fort, in a circle of flickering camp-fires, the Indians danced and shouted, while from within came the answering roar of cannon and the rattle of small-arms, in celebration of their triumph.

Wounded murdered, plundered with other dead

Riot of joy at Duquesne

Contrecœur, who, before Beaujeu's arrival, had arranged to destroy the fort and retreat down the Ohio, now claimed all the credit of the victory. He had not even appeared on the field of battle, but remained within the walls of the fort, tremblingly awaiting the result and prepared to fly at the first news of expected disaster. The death of Beaujeu left no one to dispute his claims; and Contrecœur was not only promoted, but allowed to remain in command of Fort Duquesne until it was

Contrecœur's impudent boasting

1755

abandoned by the French. His true character, however, seems to have been understood by his contemporaries, for by them he was branded as a coward and denounced for his cruelty.

Dunbar's cowardly flight

Refuses to protect frontier

The death of Braddock transferred the chief command of the army to Colonel Dunbar, who, though forty miles from the scene of the carnage and not menaced, became so infected with the panic of the troops that he seemed to lose all reason. The day before the death of his chief he destroyed all the remainder of the artillery, burnt the public stores and the heavy baggage, to the value of half a million of dollars, and set out in hasty and disgraceful flight for the settlements. It is said that he actually led the terror-stricken troops in their wild race for safety, and never ceased applying whip and spur until he found himself within the environments of Philadelphia. News of the disaster had gone before him, and at Will's Creek he was met by requests from the governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland to post his troops on the frontier, so as to protect the inhabitants until reinforcements of provincials could be sent to take their places; but he refused to pause.

Pennsylvania raises money for troops

The consternation that now prevailed caused the Assembly of Pennsylvania to vote $250,000 for the King's use in raising troops to defend the western border. The money was to be raised by a general tax on all estates in the province, both real and personal. The bulk of the real estate was owned by the proprietaries, who lived in England,

1755

Penns refuse to share public burdens

and being out of danger, declined to be taxed for the support of the war. They notified the Assembly, through Governor Morris, that they would claim their right of exemption; which of course settled the matter so far as they were concerned. But other arrangements provided the necessary funds; and Franklin, according to his own statement, was prevailed upon by the governor to take charge of the northwestern frontier, which was infested by the enemy.

Franklin commander on northwestern frontier

At that time the northwestern frontier lay out toward the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, and among the Blue Mountains. Franklin was intrusted with the whole matter of raising troops, building a line of forts, and providing for the public defense. The governor commissioned Franklin as a brigadier-general, with full power to appoint his own officers. His son William, who had served in the campaign against Canada, and risen to the position of captain before he had attained his majority, became aide-de-camp to his father, and was of great service to him in organizing the force. The people, having confidence in Franklin's ability, flocked readily to his standard; and within a few days he had five hundred and sixty men enrolled and ready for duty.

Makes base at Gnadenhütten

The Indians had already fallen upon the Moravian settlement at Gnadenhütten and murdered the inhabitants; and as this was regarded as a strategic point, it was resolved to erect one of the forts or stockades there. The philosopher led this expedition in person. He assembled his companies at Bethlehem, which was then the principal establishment of the Moravians, and was surprised to find the inhabitants, in spite of their opposition to war, already in a state of defense. The massacre of their people had inspired them with a sense of their danger, and they accordingly resorted to carnal weapons in protecting themselves from a similar catastrophe. Franklin found that they had procured arms and ammunition from New York, and defended their principal buildings by stockades. They cheerfully supplied Franklin with wagons and the means of transportation for his baggage and military stores, and rendered such other assistance as they could in furthering his efforts to succor Gnadenhütten. Upon their arrival a spectacle of horror met their view: the bodies of the victims were but half buried by the frightened country people, who had attempted to perform this duty after the flight of the savages. Under Franklin's directions, decent sepulture was given that night to all the exposed bodies.

1755

Moravians take arms for defense

Massacre at Gnadenhütten

The next morning, dimensions for a fort four hundred and fifty-five feet in circumference were marked out, and the men went industriously to work to get it in defensible condition. It was to consist of a stockade of palisades, cut from trees each not less than one foot in diameter; and Franklin, in his usual methodical way carefully observing the movements of the men, was greatly pleased with the dispatch they made. Timing them with his watch, he found that two men would cut down in six minutes a pine-tree fourteen inches

Franklin fortifies it

in diameter; and as there were seventy axemen in the command, besides men enough to dig the trenches and sharpen and set the palisades, he could estimate with a good deal of accuracy about how long it would require to complete the fort. This accomplished, Franklin caused a swivel gun they had brought with them to be fired off, so that if any Indians were within hearing, they might receive warning of the fact that the stockade was defended by guns of large calibre. It was a wise stratagem, and prevented any attack on the fort; for the savages could never be induced to assault fortifications defended by cannon.

1755

Franklin's clever ruse

Franklin's experience as a soldier was not very satisfactory to himself, though as everywhere he acted with consummate sense and rose to the occasion by intuitive sagacity; and he gained considerable renown among the officials and the public in general. After his return home, his regiment drew up one day in front of his house, for the purpose of honoring him with a salute; and he mentions with evident pain that the jar occasioned by the discharge of their guns shook down and broke several pieces of his electrical apparatus, which he prized above all the military honors that could be conferred upon him.

Annoying honors to him

It was planned that after Braddock had captured Fort Duquesne, he should march northward and join Shirley at Niagara, whereupon they were to proceed eastward until they formed a junction with Johnson; when the combined armies were to sweep down the St. Lawrence and drive the French off the continent. The forces of the two northern expeditions rendezvoused at and near Albany, in June 1755, about a month before Braddock's disaster. They numbered nearly six thousand men, consisting principally of militia from the northern provinces and friendly Indians. The voyage up the river and over the lakes was to be made in bateaus—light flat-bottomed boats that could be easily forced over shoals and shallow places, or carried across the portages. Men experienced in that kind of navigation had been employed, and everything promised well for the success of the undertaking.

1755

The St. Lawrence expedition

It was the latter part of July before Shirley's detachment was embarked on the Mohawk at Schenectady. Then came the startling news of Braddock's defeat, and the flight of the remnant of his broken army toward Philadelphia. His troops had been regarded as the best in the service and practically invincible, and the catastrophe which had befallen them threw the northern levies into consternation. Desertions increased to a dangerous extent. Even the bateau-men, upon whom so much depended, refused to go any further. As they were not enlisted soldiers, they could not be brought under discipline and forced to move forward.

Shirley's section

Nearly paralyzed by Braddock's defeat

For a time it seemed as if the expedition would have to be abandoned; but Shirley had succeeded Braddock as commander-in-chief, and he was anxious to justify the promotion. Therefore, by the mingled persuasion and firmness of which he was

Shirley revives them

so eminent a master, he induced the men to go on. But no one manifested any disposition to hurry; for by this time it was well known that the French were informed of the plans of the English campaign through the medium of Braddock's captured papers, and from their base at Fort Frontenac they could easily concentrate a force in Western New York large enough to crush Shirley's command. It seemed like challenging fate to proceed any further, and so felt every thoughtful man connected with the expedition.

1755

Shirley's predicament

Shirley therefore decided to fortify himself at Oswego as a base of supplies, and await reinforcements. This aroused Iroquois dudgeon. The English had established a trading-post here as early as 1720, and seven years afterward they had built a rude fort. No objection was made by the Iroquois tribes of that region; but when Shirley's was begun they scowled and grew ugly. Why should their brothers build two forts in the midst of their territory? Was it not both an imputation against the sincerity of their friendship and a menace to their independence? They knew what a white man's fortification stood for.

Oswego

Shirley, however, paying no attention to their well-known displeasure, increased the number of the fortifications and added to the strength of those already built. Thereupon the greater part of the warriors who had accompanied him returned home. Still he persisted, and built two new forts. One of these, on the west side of the basin and a little to the westward of old Fort Oswego, he

Shirley builds two forts

called New Fort. It was one hundred and seventy feet square, with bastions and a rampart of earth and stones. On the east side he constructed still more formidable works, to which he gave the name of Fort Ontario. The walls, composed of logs thirty inches in diameter and fourteen feet high, were eight hundred feet in circumference, and provided with embrasures for sixteen pieces of artillery. Around the foot of the east side was a ditch ten feet deep and fourteen wide; and barracks were provided within the walls for three hundred men.

1755

Forts Oswego and Ontario

Shirley likewise built a little navy, for the purpose of carrying his army to Niagara when it should be sufficiently strengthened. Among the vessels built were a schooner and a sloop of sixty tons each, two row-galleys of twenty tons each, and eight whale-boats, each with a capacity for sixteen men. After deciding upon these works, he notified the colonists of his purpose to hold that territory, and asked for more men; whereupon the New York Assembly voted $40,000 toward the enlistment of two thousand Connecticut men, and raised four hundred of their own in addition to the eight hundred already in the field.

Shirley's "navy"

New York votes to raise troops

Shirley was notified of these measures, and directed to complete the forts, to prepare for the building of one or more large vessels in addition to those already under way, two or more row-galleys, and one hundred whale-boats. The large vessels were each to carry ten six-pounders, besides a number of swivels—small guns mounted on

More vessels ordered

a pivot, so that they could be turned and fired in any direction. These guns constituted an effective arm in Indian warfare, since they could sweep every section of a battle-field. The men and the guns were forwarded promptly, and the vessels were built; but Shirley delayed until winter was too near at hand to proceed with the expedition. So, leaving seven hundred men under Colonel Mercer, to guard the forts and watch the ships, he set out on the 24th of October on his return to Albany. Here the remainder of his army was disbanded; and so ended ingloriously that part of the campaign of 1755.

1755

Shirley abandons campaign

In the light of facts as they are now known, this abandonment of the year's plan by Shirley seems like cowardice; but the fact was that with the forces at hand, he was helpless. If he left a sufficient garrison at Oswego, he would not have men enough remaining to venture the expedition to Niagara; if he did not, the French, who had fourteen hundred men at Fort Frontenac, would capture it and his supplies and starve out that expedition. In fact, he did receive news of a purposed French movement in force against Oswego. All this, however, instead of making him abandon a post of such enormous importance, should have made him cling to it the more resolutely, and await the reinforcements for which he had asked. Much more this was the case from the French disaster in the central field before he had left Oswego, which opened the road to success. Instead of pushing their western campaign, they had turned aside

His reasons

from the original purpose and met defeat on the banks of Lake George. 1755

Lyman wins campaign for Johnson

Of the three armies organized for the campaign of 1755, Johnson's alone accomplished anything; and that was due not to himself, but partly to the courage of his troops, mainly to the leadership of the gallant Lyman of Connecticut.

French reinforcements

Early in the year the French had dispatched strong reinforcements across the Atlantic; but on their way over, Admiral Boscawen, as before noted, made a dash into their fleet and captured two of their best ships and six hundred men. The remainder were landed safely, a thousand at Louisbourg and fourteen hundred at Quebec. Baron John Erdman Dieskau, who had served with gallantry under Marshal Saxe, was raised to the position of major-general and placed in command of all the forces in Canada.

Dieskau

The most vital movement was the expedition against the English posts in the west; this was to start from Quebec, and Dieskau lost no time in preparing for it. His first duty, as laid out by himself, was the capture of Oswego; and it was news of this intention that brought Shirley back to Albany, even after Dieskau had been defeated, wounded, and captured at Lake George. It could be clearly seen that the French must have Oswego, or give up their pretensions to the Ohio Valley; for with that place in the hands of the English, backed by the fleet that Shirley had built on the lake, there could be no safety of communication between Fort Frontenac and Niagara. With Oswego destroyed,

Vital importance of Oswego

or in the hands of the French, the whole of the Ohio Valley would be controlled, and their rivals would be driven back and confined to the eastward of the Alleghanies. It followed that Shirley's place was at Oswego, where the next blow was bound to fall—as it did, in spite of Dieskau's mishap.

1755

Immediately on his arrival at Quebec, the French general made his preparations for the western campaign. Finding the capital of the province too far eastward, he removed his headquarters to Montreal; where, just as he was on the point of starting at the head of about two thousand men, word came that the eastern division of the English army was moving toward Crown Point. Thereupon the inhabitants of Montreal entreated Dieskau to protect that place, as its capture would open the way to the conquest of the whole province, and perhaps of all New France. Dieskau opposed any change in his plans, asserting that Oswego was the key to the situation, and that the French ought first to concentrate all of their efforts on its reduction. There were men enough at Crown Point, he claimed, if they would do their duty, to maintain that position while he was employed in the west; and his operations in the latter section would naturally draw the attention of the English away from the north and the northeast. He reasoned like a skillful soldier; but at length he yielded to the importunities of the alarmed inhabitants.

Dieskau to start from Montreal

Wishes to assail Oswego

Goes to Crown Point, much loth

An army of three thousand men had already been collected for the defense of Crown Point,

1755

located at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain. This force consisted of seven hundred French regulars, fourteen hundred Canadian militia, and seven hundred Indians. Among the latter were three hundred Mohawks who lived within the limits of the French possessions; a fact that will be noted, because the members of the Iroquois confederacy, as a body, were on the side of the English, though just at this time they were dissatisfied and sullen because of the building of the forts at Oswego. So great had been the efforts of the French to prevent the capture of Crown Point, that the district of Montreal was stripped of all its able-bodied men; and as they were away during the harvest season, reapers had to be brought from Quebec and other parts of the province to gather the grain and save the people from famine. None were left at home except the women and children and aged and infirm men. Hence a French defeat in the central position would leave the whole of Canada at the mercy of the English. These were the reasons, no doubt, that influenced Dieskau in changing his plans; which he did, however. with the utmost reluctance, and not until he had been expressly ordered to do so by the governor.

Great French force at Crown Point

Canada stripped of the able-bodied

The English force which had brought about these opposing manœuvres had been leisurely collecting at Albany, and higher up on the Hudson, since early in June. It embraced about thirty-four hundred men, including the New England levies and friendly Indians. Among others who came

English force at Albany

was General Phineas Lyman, at the head of one thousand Connecticut men,—as picturesque a hero as New England ever produced. He had given up a lucrative law practice to engage in this expedition, and had been honored with the appointment of major-general and commander-in-chief of the forces of his province. Although a college man and a lawyer, with little military experience, his people made no mistake in putting their trust in him, as was demonstrated by his subsequent career.

1755

Phineas Lyman

The Indians were slow in answering the call for warriors, and were without enthusiasm and indifferent as to the result when they came. "What is the matter with my red brothers?" inquired General Johnson of the famous old Mohawk chief, Hendrick: "why do they not come and go with us to fight the French?" Hendrick replied that Shirley had spoken disrespectfully of him to the men of the Six Nations, and advised them to go with him to Oswego instead of following Johnson to Crown Point. There was no doubt much truth in this assertion, for the jealousy that existed between the two commanders had much to do with the inefficiency of their movements. But the Iroquois were growing lukewarm in their friendship for the English, and were not particularly interested in their success; they saw too late that English growth could only be at Indian expense.

Hendrick on the Iroquois backwardness

Deeper reasons

It was the 8th of August before Johnson had assembled his forces, and was ready to march northward from Albany to join General Lyman; and then he went without his bateaus or other means for moving his men over the lakes. The greater part of his artillery was also left behind. Lyman and his men were at a point on the river just below where it makes the great bend westward, and here they had erected a fort, which in honor of their commander they called Fort Lyman; but Johnson soon afterward changed the name to Fort Edward. It stood at a point known in local history as the "first carrying-place," from the fact that it was the custom to land troops there for the portage overland to the southern point of Lake Champlain, about twenty-five miles distant.

1755

Fort Edward built

In this unprotected camp on the lake the army idled away nearly two months, while wagons passed leisurely back and forth to Fort Edward, bringing the bateaus and some of the military supplies. But the cannon, more important than anything else except food for the soldiers, were neglected until the last. Only the day before the French and Indians made their attack were the first two cannon brought to the camp.

Dawdling preparations

Meanwhile Dieskau had taken advantage of the opportunity which his enemy had thrown in his way. Having reached Crown Point on his march from Montreal, and being there informed by his scouts of conditions to the southward, he decided at one bold dash to capture Fort Edward and place himself between the English and their base of supplies. He would pen them up on the lake, and compel them either to surrender or fight; and he had no fear of the result in the latter event. Having accomplished this object, Albany would be at

Dieskau plans a "coup"

his mercy, and he could then at his leisure attend to Shirley's detachment and punish New England. It was a well-conceived and feasible plan; but had the French commander been better acquainted with the fighting qualities of the provincials, he might have used more caution in making his preparations.

1755

Dieskau omits a factor

Leaving a large force for the protection of Crown Point, Dieskau pushed southward with two hundred regulars, seven hundred Canadians, and six hundred Indians, a large proportion of the latter being French Iroquois and the remainder Abenakis. The smallness of the force—fifteen hundred men to do battle with thirty-four hundred—showed his contempt for the colonials: French and English regulars were just alike. Dieskau followed the course of the long neck of Lake Champlain to South Bay, halting in the vicinity of the present site of Whitehall. Fort Edward was his objective point, but on leaving South Bay he took a road that led in the direction of Lake George. This movement was doubtless intentional, made with a view of placing the French army at once between the camp and the fort; but it has been attributed to the mistake of a guide. On the morning of the 8th of September, the French lay outstretched across the road between the camp and Fort Edward, and less than three miles distant from the former.

Dieskau cuts communications of Fort Edward

Not until midnight of the 7th did Johnson learn that the enemy was south of him. After leaving South Bay they had occupied the better

1755

Johnson's slackness

Hendrick's counsels

English advance: Ephraim Williams

part of four days in gaining their present position; and there was no hour of this time when their location could not have been easily determined. Johnson did nothing toward preparing to meet the imminent peril until morning, when a council of war was called. It was then decided to send out a small army to reconnoitre the French position; but the old chief, Hendrick, dissented. "If they are to fight," he said, "they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." His opinion, sententiously expressed, seemed founded in wisdom; and in deference to it the council decided to increase the number of men, but to send them in three separate parties. Again Hendrick withheld his approval. Selecting three sticks and holding them together in his hand, he said: "Put them together, and you can't break them; take them one by one, and you can break them easily."

His practical wisdom prevailed, and a detachment of one thousand New England men and two hundred Mohawks, all under command of Colonel Ephraim Williams of Massachusetts, was dispatched to ascertain the position and numbers of the enemy. By some mysterious influence, Williams for some days past had been burdened with a presentiment of approaching death; and being unmarried, he had made a will before leaving Albany, bequeathing the bulk of his landed and personal property to found a free school in Williamstown, Mass. The event proved the accuracy of his presentiment; for his command was ambushed, and he fell at the first fire. Hendrick rode at the head of the Mohawks, and was the only mounted man in the entire party. He was then about sixty-five years of age and very fleshy,—an unusual thing for a savage,—and his corpulency rendered it impossible for him to go into battle on foot. He thus became a target for the fire of the French and Indians. Before starting, the old chief mounted the carriage of one of the cannon, and with his long white hair streaming in the wind, harangued his warriors in a strain of impassioned eloquence that roused a fierce echo.

1755

Hendrick, the Mohawk chief

Dieskau's scouts soon warned him of the approach of Colonel Williams' party, and he prepared instantly for the meeting. His men were placed in ambush in the form of a horseshoe, the open part toward the English, so that as soon as the latter entered the lines they would be exposed to a withering fire on both flanks. On one side lay a wilderness so dense that a man could scarcely push his way through it; on the other a swamp equally impervious; and here the French and Indians were concealed. On the other hand, every movement of the English was visible as they came forward within close range of the concealed foe. No scouts or flankers were thrown out to guard or open the way. A fatal carelessness marked their movements; and yet there were men in Williams' command who ought to have known better—not to mention Indians like Hendrick, who, one would think, would always take an ambush for granted. A company of the famous rangers was also there, under the still more famous Captain

Dieskau's ambush

Israel Putnam, who, then thirty-six, had just been promoted for gallant service. Unduly eager to engage the enemy, these men, as well as their intrepid leader, hurried onward, regardless of the most common measures of prudence.

1755

The ambush of Lake George

The whole party was well within the lines of the ambuscade before any suspicion of the presence of the enemy was aroused. Then the French Mohawks arose from their concealment and called to their brethren on the side of the English. These red warriors would not take unfair advantage of their own tribesmen. They asked for a parley, which was denied; but at that instant the French and the Abenakis, on both wings, poured in a desolating volley at half-pistol range. Men fell under the blast like grass before a fire. Scores of the English and their Indian allies were killed or wounded. Colonel Williams was one of the first to fall, shot dead with a musket-ball in the head. He fell near a rock which has ever since borne his name, and now stands as a monument over his grave. A musket-ball fired from one of the wings of the horseshoe struck Hendrick in the back, but he lived long enough to express regret for the circumstance. He was troubled lest some one might suppose that he had acted the part of a coward; but he died like a hero and a soldier. When the fact was reported to his son, the young chief groaned, after the custom of his people, and placing his hand over his heart, exclaimed: "My father still lives here. The son is now the father, and stands here ready to fight."

Williams and Hendrick killed

1755

With the fall of Williams, the command of the detachment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of the second Connecticut regiment. During the moment of inaction that now ensued, while the enemy reloaded their pieces, he got the men under control, and led them back toward the camp. Observing a steady fire in the woods occupied by the left flank of the French, he collected a few of the most resolute men and charged in that direction; but the enemy, rising out of the brush, fell upon and drove them back with bayonet and tomahawk. The retreat now threatened to become a rout; but as the men approached a pond on the road, they were met by a detachment of three hundred fresh troops that Johnson had sent to their relief. Around this little reinforcement they rallied, and a desperate fight took place. Many were killed on the spot; and when the French regulars came up they threw the bodies into the water, which has since borne the name of Bloody Pond. The confusion soon became so great that Whiting could do nothing more than protect the retreat by means of a few resolute rangers, whom he gathered about him as a rear-guard. Loading and firing as they withdrew, these men held the French and Indians in check, and enabled most of the survivors to escape into the camp.

Charge by provincials

Fight at Bloody Pond

Retreat of colonials

The noise of the battle, as well as the scattered firing of the retreating column, was heard distinctly in the camp. Johnson now set to work with nervous energy to do what he had previously neglected. The two cannon were brought up from the lake, and so planted as to sweep the road, which insured safety from any sudden rush of the Indians. The wagons were drawn into a circle and strengthened by piles of baggage, trees were cut down and thrown into the form of rude breastworks, and a considerable open space cleared in front of them. In a few minutes fortifications were extemporized, of sufficient strength to give the troops a sense of security, and to hold the enemy in check until the superior force of the English could be utilized.

1755

Johnson strengthens camp at Lake George

It had been Dieskau's intention to push the retreating column so closely that his men would mingle with them and rush into the camp at the same time; and this duty was intrusted to the Indians and Canadians. But when the former reached the open space and saw the muzzles of the cannon frowning upon them from behind the breastworks, they became panic-stricken and fled into the woods and swamp, where the Canadians quickly followed them. "Are these the so much vaunted troops of New France!" exclaimed Dieskau bitterly, as he saw the larger part of his army apparently melt away. But the fugitives, finding themselves unmolested, recovered their senses, and seeking friendly trees, opened a long-range fire on the camp. Meanwhile the French regulars moved steadily down the road in solid columns, and deploying into the open space, began to deliver their fire by platoons. Their gleaming bayonets, and the regularity with which they loaded

Indians and Canadian militia fly in turn

French regulars advance

and fired, threw the provincials into temporary confusion.

Lyman takes command

Meanwhile, almost at the beginning of the battle, General Johnson had received a wound and was carried to his tent, where he remained during the rest of the engagement. This threw the chief command on General Lyman, who by his conduct proved that his bravery was equal to his good sense. It was his first battle, but he acted like a veteran. Exposing himself in the most unconcerned manner, he inspired the troops with his own splendid courage. Confidence and order were soon restored. The cannon were brought into service; and though at first handled in such a manner as to render them ineffective, the noise of their explosions frightened the savages and kept them at bay. The provincials, no longer dreading the platoons or bayonets of the regulars, resumed their stations at the breastworks and opened fire with the regularity of veterans.

Restores the day

The tide turning

For five hours the contest raged, from eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon. Lyman's courage spread its contagion until every soldier became a hero. Even the friendly Indians, who at the first fire had fled to the protection of their camp, now came to the front, and during the remainder of the engagement displayed a heroism that was in the highest degree commendable. As the conflict progressed, the provincials seemed to lose all sense of fear. They clubbed their muskets, and springing over the breastworks, engaged in a hand-to-hand contest with the French regulars.

They fought, as Dieskau said afterward, "like devils." The cannon were now brought to bear on the Indians in the swamp, who had gradually approached within the range of the camp and were doing some execution with their rifles. A few discharges sent them deeper into the recesses of the tangled woods, whence they could not be driven forth to renew the battle.

1755

Cannon drive Indians off the field

Dieskau, already painfully wounded, assembled a remnant of his regulars and made an assault on the right wing of the provincials. Repulsed there, he led his men against the left wing, where a similar fate awaited them. The battle had assumed the character of a butchery; and the few remaining regulars who could escape fled and joined the Indians and Canadians, who had long since left the field in dismay. The flight became a stampede. Dieskau, wounded and helpless, was left behind, and when the provincials came up he was found leaning against the stump of a tree. As one of them approached to demand his surrender, he placed his hand in his pocket, intending to offer his watch as a bribe; but the soldier, misconstruing his motive, and supposing he was about to draw a pistol, fired on him with a musket, inflicting a dangerous wound in the hip. This soldier is believed to have been the famous Colonel Seth Pomeroy of Massachusetts, who had assumed command of Colonel Williams' regiment after the death of the latter. Pomeroy deeply regretted the mistake which led him to fire on a wounded man, and was ever reticent regarding the incident.

Dieskau unable to prevent rout

Crippled and left behind

Again wounded by error

1755

Dieskau's later life

The French commander was tenderly lifted in the folds of a blanket and carried to the camp, where he met with kindness and sympathy. As soon as his wounds would permit he was taken to Albany, and afterward to New York, whence he sailed for Europe. Throughout his stay in America he was treated with consideration by the colonists, who greatly admired his manly courage and soldierly qualities. Dieskau lived twelve years after the battle of Lake George, dying in 1767, at Surêne, near Paris, from the effects of the wound in his hip, which never healed.

English victory not followed up

The Mohawks in Johnson's command, burning with a desire to avenge the death of Hendrick, demanded the privilege of pursuing the fleeing provincials, in order that the broken remnants of the defeated army might be captured or destroyed. In fact, an immediate advance on Crown Point was urged, which it was wisely claimed might be captured almost without a blow before the French had time to recover from their panic. Future events showed that this view of the matter was correct; but Johnson, unable to appreciate the opportunity that lay almost within his grasp, forbade all pursuit, and the enemy was allowed to escape at his leisure.

French detachment seeks escape

A portion of the French, however, met with a second catastrophe about nightfall. Finding themselves pursued, about two hundred of them collected into a compact body, and securing a portion of their baggage in the camp of the morning, they continued their flight with some degree of order.

At sunset they halted and began to prepare a hasty supper, having eaten nothing during the day. While engaged in this occupation, they were suddenly attacked by two hundred New Hampshire men under Captain Macginnes, who were on their way from Fort Edward to the camp on the lake, not knowing that the battle had taken place. They fell upon the Frenchmen with fury, killing and wounding a large number of them, and capturing all their baggage and ammunition. The New Hampshire men also suffered a considerable loss in this affair, their captain and several of the men being killed and a number of others wounded. The French loss during the day was very heavy, being estimated at about five hundred, or nearly one-third of their entire number. The loss of the provincials was between two and three hundred, including those who fell in the morning's ambuscade.

1755

Escaping French party cut up

The victory was complete. Nothing prevented the capture of the whole French army, together with Crown Point, and the virtual ending of the war in America, save the indecision and singular timidity of General Johnson, who had neither a soldier's eye nor a soldier's spirit. The French in Canada were exhausted. They had expended their utmost efforts in preparing for the expedition under Dieskau; and now with that gallant officer defeated, wounded, and a prisoner, and his army cut to pieces, Crown Point hung like an over-ripe apple, ready to drop into the lap of the English. With it might have fallen the whole

General Johnson

Johnson loses the fruits of victory

of Canada, for the French were too nearly exhausted to recover it. A great opportunity was lost, and the loss necessitated a long, bloody, and expensive war.

1755

So numerous were the disasters which of late had attended the British arms, that the victory of Lake George was lauded and magnified beyond its real merits. It was not an extraordinary achievement for three thousand men, protected by breastworks, to defeat fifteen hundred in the open field; but so badly in need of victory were the British, that this affair was heralded as an offset to Braddock's defeat, and indeed it did bring comfort and encouragement to the sorely tried colonists, who were the chief sufferers by reason of the incompetence of their British commanders. These slighted the Americans in many ways. General Lyman, to whom was due not only the victory, but the very salvation of the army, was not even mentioned by Johnson in his official report of the battle; a neglect which hurt him in the estimation of the public vastly more than it did the object of his envy. Johnson, on the other hand, was rewarded with a present of £5000 from the British government and a baronetcy from the King, although he had little more to do with the result than the humblest soldier in his ranks.

Battle of Lake George militarily

Lyman ill-used

Johnson made a baronet

Johnson spent the remainder of the season in timid inactivity, and the erection of a fort near his camp on the lake, to which he gave the name of Fort William Henry. Although there was no enemy nearer than Ticonderoga, Johnson wore his men out by keeping them constantly under arms during the day; and at night "half of the whole were on guard," as expressed by one of the provincial officers. With the approach of winter, he left six hundred men to guard Fort William Henry, and dismissed the New England men to their homes. A small garrison also remained at Fort Edward; and these two posts were exposed as if inviting capture by the French, who employed the remainder of the autumn and the winter in strengthening Crown Point and erecting fortifications at Ticonderoga.

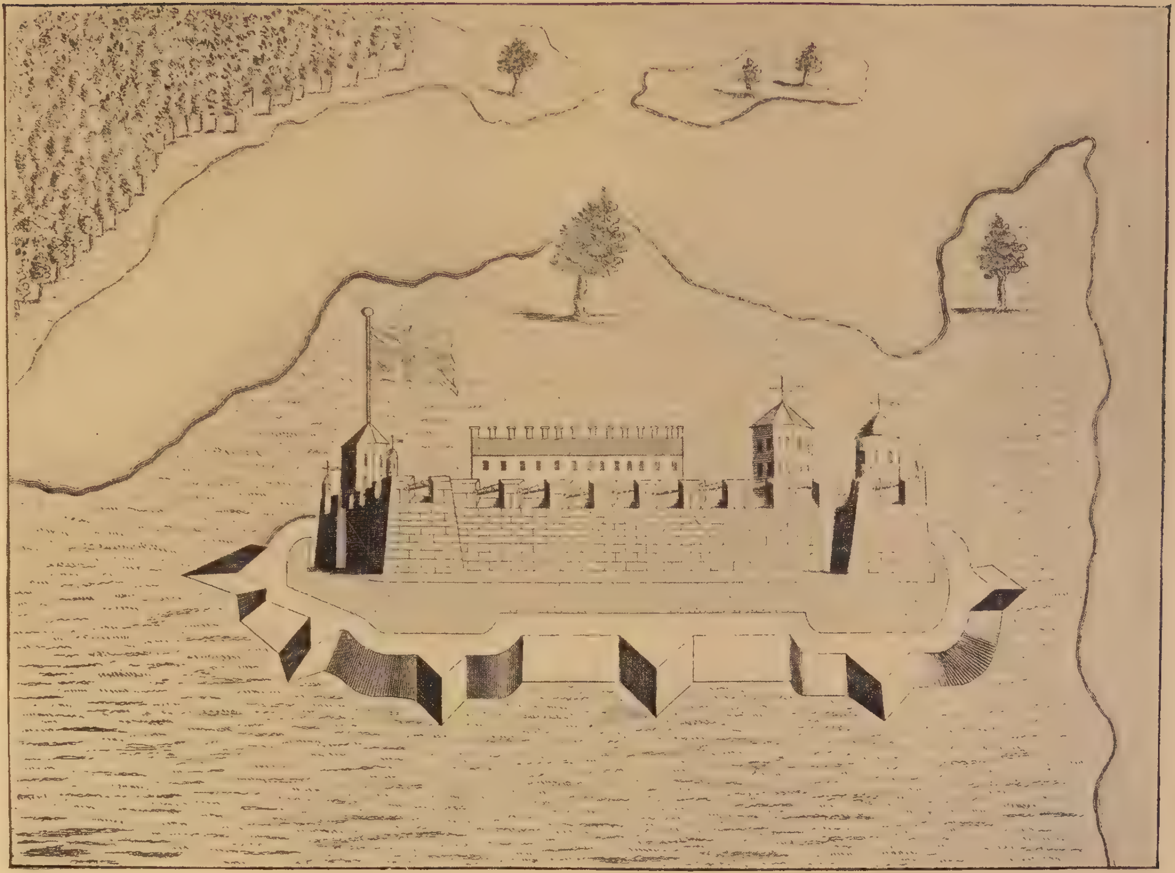
1755-6

Johnson dawdles out the season

Meanwhile the winter of 1755-6 witnessed the busy scheming of the Crown officers to unite the colonies under one administration, so as to tax them by act of Parliament. It was even proposed at one time to erect them into a separate kingdom, and set the Duke of Cumberland over them as sovereign. Had this been done, it would be difficult to predict what the result might have been. No one at that time thought of a republic. It was universally conceded that the king held his office by divine appointment; and if the colonies had possessed a sovereign of their own, so little was it believed that a large state could be administered without a monarch, it is probable that they would have submitted to the kingly régime and become the great American empire, until they threw off the system as Brazil has since done.

English plans for remodeling colonial governments

But while the English government was planning the subjugation of its own colonies, and lowering



FORT FREDERIC OR CROWN POINT.—NORTH VIEW.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

the standard of the nation by entering into foreign intrigues, the French were vigorously planning for the ensuing campaign. They not only erected extensive fortifications at Ticonderoga, where Lakes George and Champlain unite, and strengthened those already in existence at Crown Point, but they inaugurated other measures that proved dangerous to British interests the following season. During the whole of the winter their emissaries were busy among the tribes of the Six Nations, endeavoring to win them away from their allegiance to the English. These Indians had for some time manifested a dissatisfied and unfriendly spirit, and the French entertained a strong hope of bringing them over to their side. They were promised that the English works at Oswego, which had been a source of irritation from the beginning, should be reduced and destroyed, and that no further inroads should be made on their territory. But these promises were no lure: the Indians had learned by experience that in the matter of territorial greed the French were no better than the English. Therefore, while the Iroquois were somewhat shaken in their ancient friendship for the latter, they would not consent to take up the hatchet on the side of their old enemies; but they cultivated a frame of mind under which the slightest untoward circumstance might send them on the war-path against the English.

1755–6

French fortify Ticonderoga

Intrigue with Iroquois

With some success

The French also made overtures to the Cherokees of the South, hoping to arouse this fierce

And with Cherokees

tribe and hem the English settlements in on all sides. But the Cherokees were not so easily shaken in their faith. They sent messengers to Governor Glen of South Carolina, informing him as to what was going on, and advising him to appoint a meeting for a renewal of the old treaties with their people. He cheerfully complied with their suggestion, and the meeting was held in the Cherokee country during the winter of 1755. The old treaties were renewed, additional concessions were made by the Indians, and their friendship more firmly cemented. Thus that threatening source of danger was removed.

1755-6

Cherokees refuse French overtures

The Acadian deportation

The summer and early winter of 1755 witnessed one of the saddest events in the colonial history of our country. This was the expulsion of more than seven thousand of the French inhabitants from Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the confiscation of their lands and property.

The Acadians

Acadia had been originally peopled by industrious peasants from the province of Brittany, in France, who doubtless found in this bleak region much to remind them of the picturesque features of their native land. They were a pastoral people, simple in their habits, satisfied with but little of this world's riches, and profoundly devoted to the religion of the Catholic Church. They were as earnestly Catholic as their New England neighbors were Protestant; but their religion possessed none of that aggressiveness which characterized the latter. Their faith was more like the confiding trust of little children. They neither doubted nor questioned. Speculation was entirely foreign to their nature; they reposed with absolute confidence in the bosom of their Church. Religion was their comforter and their guide, and they cared for little else. It brought them consolation in seasons of affliction, and increased their joys in times of gladness. This very devotion to their faith intensified their patriotism, and made them love all the more keenly everything French. Every effort to bring them into harmony with English custom and sentiment had failed. They remained intensely French, and constituted a dangerous element for working out the policies of that nation whenever an opportunity might arise. This fact was appreciated by the government; and during the panic that ensued after Braddock's defeat, it was decided to get rid of the perpetual menace to British interests in the northeast.

1755

The Acadians

The New England colonies agreed to furnish a sufficient force to capture all the French fortresses in Nova Scotia, on condition that the mother country would reimburse them for their expenses. Massachusetts alone organized and equipped 7900 men, amounting to nearly one-fifth of the male population of the province subject to military duty. Not all of these men, however, were sent to Nova Scotia, for there was urgent need for many of them at home and in the country bordering on the St. Lawrence. But a colonial force of three thousand men was dispatched against the French posts on the peninsula, together with three hundred regulars and a fine train of artillery. The

New-England expedition against Nova Scotia

1755, etc.

command of the provincials in this expedition was assigned to General John Winslow, a member of the famous Massachusetts family of that name; and upon him devolved the unpleasant task of executing the orders of the British government.

General Winslow

The first of the Bretons came to Acadia as early as 1604. Others followed, until in 1713, when the territory was transferred to England by the treaty of Utrecht, there was a considerable population inhabiting the farms and villages of the peninsula. At the beginning of British rule, and for a long time thereafter, the Acadians scarcely noticed the change; for during the succeeding forty years no effort was made to force an unwelcome government on them. They were not even called upon to pay taxes, or to support the magistrates of their foreign masters. The only tax they paid was their church tithes, and this they regarded as a pleasure, feeling it to be a religious duty. During all these years they lived on, unmindful of what was taking place in the outside world; happy in the daily routine of their primitive existence, undisturbed by the promptings of ambition or the fear of want. All their little transactions, the settlement of disputes, the arrangement of land titles, marriages, births, deaths, social functions, etc., were managed for them by the parish priest.

The first Acadians

Soft unprogressive religious people

It was not until the English began to make settlements on the peninsula that these blissful conditions were disturbed. Then the national and religious antipathies of the contending races were excited, and discord succeeded harmony. The

Acadians claimed that under the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, by which their country had been transferred to Great Britain, they were specially exempted from military service against the French. They therefore styled themselves "Neutrals," and soon came to be known by this name among all parties. While they were undoubtedly sincere in their belief, the facts did not sustain their view; for by the express stipulations of the treaty, the Acadians were allowed a year either to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain or leave the country. They preferred to do neither, and inflexibly maintained their neutral position for more than forty years. They remained, as they always had been, enemies of the English nation; and the government knew that in case of war with France, which was constantly threatened, these people would form a dangerous power within the British lines. This was the English view of the matter, and it seemed to demand the conversion of the Acadians to British subjects at heart, or their expulsion from their country. The latter was the extreme alternative; and it must be said in justification that it was not resorted to until everything else had failed. The measure was perhaps unavoidable,—we shall deal with that question later,—but the cruelties accompanying its enforcement remain without an apology.

1755, etc.

Acadians claim neutrality

Unassimilable to English nationality

The French government had continuously urged the Acadians to remove to Canada, threatening them with the fate of rebels if they refused to obey; but their homes and property and all their

France itself threatens to force them out

sacred associations and memories, dearer to them than life, were in this land of their adoption, and these they could not give up. The English, on the other hand, preferred that the Acadians should remain, provided they would become true subjects; for their removal would almost strip the peninsula of inhabitants, and increase the hostile population across the border. They were accordingly treated with special deference. The English officials did all in their power to win the confidence of the people and make their situation endurable; but their advances were not met with the spirit of accord that their merits justified. In at least two instances the officials exceeded their authority in efforts to conciliate the Acadians. In 1721 Governor Armstrong had required the principal men to take the oath of allegiance; but in deference to their feelings, it was so modified as not to require them to take up arms against France. The following year Ensign Wroth repeated the same mistake. These officers were both severely reprimanded by the home government, on the ground that "the articles of concessions" granted by them "were unwarrantable and dishonorable to H. M. government and authority, and consequently null and void." But the Acadians clung to the modified oath, and accused the English of bad faith because they refused to recognize their contention.

1713 et seq.

English efforts to conciliate Acadians

Officials stretch their authority for it

Finally, in 1749, the English decided that the wisest course for them to pursue was to encourage the settlement of Protestants, especially English, on the peninsula, with a view to counteracting the influence of the Acadians and making the country Anglo-Saxon instead of French. A few insignificant English settlements had already been formed, the principal one being at Annapolis Royal, the capital of the province. A small garrison was maintained there; but it soon became apparent that the sympathies of the soldiers were on the side of the people, and that in case of trouble they would be of more service to the French than the English, although they wore the British uniform.

1749

English settlements in Acadia

In May 1749 a British colony of twenty-five hundred people settled at a point on Chebucto Bay, which they called Halifax after the Earl (Montagu). These consisted principally of recently discharged army and navy officers and privates, with a few artisans and agriculturists; all under the supervision of Colonel Edward Cornwallis, uncle of the famous lord. A majority were trained soldiers, who needed nothing but organization to transform them into a corps of veterans ready for instant service. They were given free passage to Nova Scotia, and each head of a family was presented with a grant of land and provisions enough for a year's subsistence. This amounted to the same thing as bringing a trained army of British troops into the colony, and it was so regarded by the Acadians. Immediately their priests stirred them up to active hostilities. "Better," said they, "surrender your meadows to the sea and your homes to the flames, than take the oath of allegiance to the British government at the peril of your souls." This was the spirit that now began to

Foundation of Halifax

Priests inflame French

animate the people, and it increased in intensity until their final expulsion from the land.

1749–50

The colonists at Halifax proved themselves efficient in more ways than one. They built houses and cleared farms; and within four months from their arrival, Cornwallis was able to report that "there are now three hundred houses covered in at Halifax, which I hope will be tolerably comfortable for the winter." Twenty miles away, on the shores of Minas Basin, were the principal settlements of the French, a cow-path between the two forming the only means of communication.

English at Halifax

The hatred between the two races quickly manifested itself. About this time Cornwallis wrote: "It has been called an English province these thirty years, and I don't believe the King had one true subject without the fort of Annapolis. I cannot trace the least glimpse of an English government." And a little later he wrote again: "The French have not only set on the Indians, but have acted in conjunction with them; they have entered and took possession of part of the Province, drove off the Inhabitants, forced them to swear allegiance to the French king, and in short acted with as much vigor and done as much harm to us as they could have done in open war." This statement, however, seems to apply to acts done not by the Acadians, but by the officers and soldiers of the French army operating from Canada. But throughout the first winter of its existence, the city of Halifax was in constant dread of attack, and was annoyed on several occasions by predatory

French colonists irreconcilable

Halifax in terror of French

bands of French and Indians. In these hostile excursions the Acadians were believed, if not to be active participants, at least to be cordial assistants by supplying provisions and shelter, acting as guides and spies; and there is no good reason to doubt the fact, for they beheld the growth of the English settlements with profound alarm.

1750–5

Acadians' neutrality dubious

Between this time and the outbreak of hostilities in 1755, the Acadians were repeatedly summoned, in person or through their delegates, to meet the British officials; and on every one of these occasions they were clearly informed as to the position of the English government, and advised to accept the situation and take the oath of allegiance. But they steadily refused, declaring that rather than become British subjects they would leave the province. This was precisely what the English did not want; for they still believed that the people might be induced to change their mind, and they had no desire to increase the hostile population of Canada by sending them thither. Future events proved that the Acadians had no intention of leaving, but that, knowing the earnest desire of the English to have them remain, they employed this threat to secure their demands.

Threaten to leave

At length a grand commission of one thousand leading Acadians sent a memorial to Governor Cornwallis, in which this clause occurred: "The inhabitants in general, Sir, over the whole extent of this country, have resolved not to take the oath which Your Excellency requires of us; but if Your Excellency will grant us our old oath which

Memorialize Cornwallis

was given at Minas to Mr. Richard Phillips, with an exemption for ourselves and our heirs from taking up arms, we will accept it. But if Your Excellency is not disposed to grant us what we take the liberty of asking, we are resolved, every one of us, to leave the country."

1750–5

Acadians' threat of departure

In replying to this demand and its accompanying threat, unwise and impolitic if not insolent, —especially so in view of the fact that these same men were believed to have been inciting the Indians to hostilities,—Cornwallis said hotly: "Gentlemen, you allow yourselves to be led away by people who find it to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a king administers to his subjects which makes them subjects. The oath supposes that they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of fidelity of those who take it."

Edward Cornwallis' reply

But the English hesitated to force the issue, and the Acadians would not submit; and so matters went on, until Braddock's defeat threw the colonies into a frenzy of apprehension. Then it was decided to take heroic measures, and, once for all, rid the northeast of the ever-present dread of a large alien population almost at their very doors. Meanwhile Cornwallis had been succeeded by Hopson in 1752, and he by Charles Lawrence, as lieutenant-governor in 1754, and as governor two years later. It was under Lawrence's administration that the expulsion took place. The policy

English feel forced to action

1754–5

Lawrence confiscates titles of Acadians

of conciliation was utterly abandoned, and Lawrence treated the French inhabitants as open enemies. He gave them to understand that the time had come when they must submit either to British authority, or to be removed from their country by force. The deeds and titles to their estates were taken away from them, so that they no longer had any means by which they could establish their claims to the homes whose roofs had so long sheltered them and their ancestors.

Their goods seized for military use

Boats and firearms are taken

The soldiers were instructed to seize the property of the Acadians for the public service, and to "make no bargain for the payment." The people were required to surrender their property on demand, with no hope of future recompense; and if they hesitated or refused, "the next courier would bring an order for military execution upon the delinquents." When they were dilatory about bringing firewood for the comfort of the soldiers, word was sent from the governor that "if they do it not in proper time, the soldiers shall absolutely take their homes for fuel." Soon afterward the Acadians were made to deliver up all their boats and canoes, as well as their firearms, under pretense that they were carrying provisions and information to the French garrisons. Very likely the charge was true, and in that event the act was justifiable as a military measure; but its enforcement deprived the people of the means either of escaping to Canada or resenting any injustice that might afterward be imposed upon them. It placed them absolutely in the power of the British. For other orders issued about the same time there was no justification whatever. The English officers were instructed to inflict immediate punishment, at their own discretion, on any of the Acadians who should misbehave or prove refractory; and if the soldiers were annoyed, they were to wreak their vengeance upon such as were nearest and most convenient, without regard to their guilt or innocence. Retribution for the sins of the individuals was to be visited upon the whole people.

1754-5

Outrageous orders to soldiery

Long before matters had reached the critical stage, the French had established several fortifications on and near the peninsula that connects Nova Scotia with the mainland—for they had never given up the hope of eventually recovering the surrendered territory. The forts would therefore serve as a basis for future operations, and keep the Canadian authorities in touch with the people of Acadia. One of these establishments, a mere stockade, was on the north side of the peninsula, near the town of Bay Verte. Another, called Beau-Sejour, stood on an eminence overlooking the river Messagouche, which empties into the Bay of Fundy. The peninsula at this point is not more that fifteen miles wide, and these two fortifications were expected to command it. Beau-Sejour, being on the side next to the English colonies, and therefore in the line of danger, had been fitted up at considerable expense. It mounted twenty-six cannon, and at the time of which we are writing, was commanded by De Vergor, an officer of reputation and supposed ability.

French forts opposite Nova Scotia

1754-5

But all the French commanders in that region were at this particular time strangely unconscious of impending dangers. They rested in fancied security during the whole of the winter of 1754-5. In the spring of the latter year rumors of war came to them from over the sea, but so indefinite that they did not take the alarm. When therefore on the first day of June, De Vergor beheld an English fleet of forty-one vessels sailing up the Bay of Fundy and anchoring in the vicinity of Beau-Sejour, he was taken by surprise. It carried an army commanded by Moncton and Winslow, which was landed without opposition.

English naval assault on Beau-Sejour

After a day of repose and preparation, the army was led across the Messagouche to assault the fort. The passage of the river was vigorously disputed by a small body of French troops and some Acadians and Indians, who had thrown up a blockhouse and a strong wooden breastwork on the opposite bank. A hot fight of only a few minutes' duration took place, in which a number of men on both sides were killed and wounded. At length the New England troops made a bold dash across the river, and captured the works with a rush. No further serious fighting took place, and on the fourth day after the landing of the fleet the French surrendered.

Its capture

Liberal terms were granted by the conquerors. The French regulars were to be sent to Louisbourg as prisoners of war on parole; but there were a number of armed Acadians within the works who expected a worse fate,—a fact which explains the stubbornness of their fight at the river. They were both surprised and relieved when the English accorded them freedom and amnesty, on their own representations that they had been forced into French service. It is hardly probable that the English commanders believed the statement; but both Winslow and Moncton were men of generous sentiments, and moreover, were probably not aware of the changed motives which now governed the action of their superiors.

1755

Acadians at Beau-Sejour amnestied

The small stockade on the opposite side of the peninsula, being defended by only twenty men, surrendered without opposition, and received the same liberal terms. Meanwhile a little squadron of three frigates and a sloop of war sailed up the St. John to attack a French fort and settlement on its bank; but on reaching it, found it had been abandoned and the fort and all the buildings destroyed. All that region east of the St. Croix, embracing Passamaquoddy Bay, was now annexed to Great Britain, the whole enterprise having been accomplished with the loss of but twenty men. This episode is a microscopic exhibit of the entire French system and why it crumbled at a touch: keeping a vast wilderness virtually uncolonized, held only by a few petty forts and pettier hamlets.

French fort on St. John abandoned

The French possessions south of the St. Lawrence were now subdued, and there was no longer any need to apprehend an uprising among the Acadians. The whole country was in full possession of the British, and their fleets covered the

All Acadia in English hands

adjacent waters in sufficient numbers to prevent the landing of French ships. Without arms for defense, or boats for escape to a more friendly region, the Acadians were helpless and powerless. As for the English, the time had come when a judicious display of generosity might *perhaps* have sealed a permanent friendship, and prevented the later cruelties. But the governors, here and over-sea, had resolved that the French should no longer possess a permanent seat of allies and spies in their midst: Acadia must be peopled by friends, not foes whom no patience or kindness could even make honestly neutral. The Acadians had themselves to thank: they had let the time of mercy pass not to return, while they kept their masters ugly and alarmed. For over forty years since the treaty of Utrecht, the English had made every reasonable advance toward conciliation, and met only invincible hostility. The real culprits were the French priests, who not only kept the minds of their puppets inflamed against the English, but threatened them with excommunication if they took the oath of allegiance.

1754–5

Acadians disarmed

Reasons for driving them out

Some months before the outbreak of hostilities between England and France, when there was no present justification for the dispossession he suggested, Lawrence had written as follows, concerning these people, to the Earl of Halifax, then president of the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "They possess the best and largest tract of land in this province; if they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away." It is fair

Lawrence suggests it to Halifax

to take this in the best sense, however, that it was unwise to leave the best section of the province in the hands of enemies. The reply came from the Lords of Trade themselves, though it was doubtless written by the Earl of Halifax. It was couched in very diplomatic terms, but sufficiently plain to be clearly understood. "By the treaty of Utrecht," said this remarkable missive, "their becoming subjects of Great Britain is made an express condition of their continuance after the expiration of a year; they cannot become subjects but by taking the oath required of subjects; and therefore it may be a question whether their refusal to take such oaths will not operate to invalidate their titles to their lands. Consult the chief justice of Nova Scotia upon that point: his opinion may serve as a foundation for future measures."

1754–5

Halifax hints at Acadian outlawry

The chief justice, Belcher, accordingly decided that the Acadians were to be regarded and treated as confirmed rebels and "rescusants," and likewise called attention to the fact that the Acadians outnumbered the English inhabitants. They stood, he said, in the way of progress and settlement; and after the departure "of the fleet and troops, the province would not be in a condition to drive them out." "Such a juncture as the present might never occur again," and he therefore earnestly advised "against receiving any of the French inhabitants to take the oath," and urged their deportation from the province. By their non-compliance with the conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, he

Belcher finds legal ground

argued, *"they had forfeited their possessions to the Crown."*

1755

The French government now came forward with a proposition that the Acadians should be allowed to remove from the peninsula with their personal effects, and forfeit their lands to the English; but the request was denied on the ground that all the inhabitants of Nova Scotia were British subjects, and in no event could their voluntary removal be conceded, because they would naturally seek a home among their own countrymen and thereby increase the hostile strength of the French. In their despair, the people occupying the country bordering Minas Basin appealed to the governor to restore their boats and guns; representing that they were fishers and hunters by occupation, as well as farmers, and could not carry on their business without the necessary utensils. They promised fidelity in the most abject terms, asserting that it was not the lack of arms, but their own consciences, that made them true to the English.

English refuse to let Acadians remove

Acadians petition for renewed favor

Lawrence treated their memorial with scorn and contempt, denouncing it as "arrogant, insidious, and insulting." The principal men of that section were thereupon summoned to Halifax to answer for their seditious proceedings; and when they came he addressed them haughtily. "You want your canoes," he said, "for carrying provisions to the enemy." The charge, of course, was absurd, for every hostile party had either been captured or driven back to the St. Lawrence, and

Lawrence denounces them

the whole country now embraced in the province 1755 of New Brunswick was in the possession of the English. There was no avenue through which the people of Minas could reach the enemy, except by sailing across the Bay of Fundy or the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a feat which they would hardly attempt in canoes and flat-bottomed boats. "Guns are no part of your goods," continued the governor, "as by the laws of England all Roman Catholics are restrained from having arms, and are subject to penalties if arms are found in their houses. It is not the language of subjects to talk of terms with the Crown, or capitulate about their fidelity and allegiance. What excuse can you make for treating this government with such indignity as to expound to them the nature of fidelity? Manifest your obedience by immediately taking the oaths of allegiance in the common form before the council."

Lawrence berates the Acadians

The deputation, realizing that their cause was hopeless, agreed to do as the body of their people should decide; and they begged for time to return and consult their neighbors. The request was granted, and they reappeared on the second day, with the report that it had been decided to swear allegiance without reservation. They were then informed that, according to a British statute, persons who had once refused to take the oaths could not afterward be permitted to do so, but were to be regarded and treated as Popish recusants. In response to their humble protestations, the representatives of the people of Minas were arrested

They agree to take oath

Are refused

1755

and thrown into prison. The time for repentance had passed, and there was now no intention on the part of the English governor to leave any way open for escape. The authorities had reached a final determination to have done with the matter, by sending the Acadians out of the country; and that they might not thereafter prove a disturbing factor, they were to be distributed in small communities through all the English colonies. The governors were notified of this arrangement, and instructed to prepare for the reception of their new charges. The unpleasant task of carrying out the decision was intrusted to the officers of the army and navy.

Final decision as to Acadians

Having reached a conclusion, Lawrence decided to waste no time. A general proclamation was issued, ordering the whole male population to assemble at a certain place in their respective communities on the 5th day of September. "Both old men and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age," was the language of the proclamation. The command to assemble was imperative. No excuse would be accepted. The crops, the cattle, social obligations, sickness—even funerals—were not allowed to stand in the way. Those who did not promptly appear would be brought at the point of the bayonet. But no thought of disobedience entered the minds of the people. They were accustomed to being called together on numerous occasions, and they supposed that the present one had merely something to do with the oaths of allegiance. According to custom, they

Lawrence orders them all to assemble

1755

Acadians gathered at Grand Pré

assembled in their respective churches, sacred to them from generations of religious and social memories. At Grand Pré, one of the places of meeting, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men and boys came together, and having been marched into the church, the doors were locked. Around the walls and on the outside, soldiers were stationed with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. This was ominous; and the people wondered what it could mean. They were not left long in suspense. General Winslow, the commander of the provincial troops, came slowly into their midst, and with evident reluctance addressed them in these words:—

Winslow's declaration

"Gentlemen:—I have received from his Excellency Governor Lawrence, the King's commission, which I have in my hand, and by his orders you are convened together to manifest to you his Majesty's final resolution as to the French inhabitants of his province of Nova Scotia, who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it you yourselves best know. The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive. I shall therefore, without hesitation, deliver you his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely:—That your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown; with all your other effects, saving your money and household goods; and you yourselves to be removed from this his province. Thus it is peremptorily his Majesty's orders that the whole French inhabitants be removed; and I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all those things be secured to you, and that you be not molested in carrying them off; also that whole families shall go in the same vessel, so as to make this remove, which I am sensible must give you a good deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and I hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security, under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor to command."

1755

Winslow apprises Acadians of their fate

This was the language of a soldier, who, having been ordered to perform a disagreeable duty, was determined to make the manner of its enforcement as easy as possible. But who can picture the horror and amazement of that group of men and boys? Never again were they to see the homes which they had left that morning, as they supposed for only a few hours. They were promised that their families should go with them into exile; but in numerous instances the men who assembled that day never again beheld the faces of their wives and daughters and little children. Many of them never knew what fate befell the loved ones they had left so hurriedly in the morning; for in the haste and confusion of sending the people away in ships, families were separated and carried into different provinces, where they lived the remnant of their lives in ignorance of the fate of their relatives.

1755

Dreadful scattering of Acadian families

But little time was given the Acadians to arrange for their banishment. The 10th of September—only five days after the first arrests—was proclaimed as the date of their departure. With the arrival of the fateful day, the young men were required to move first, while the older ones came after. The women and children were notified that they must wait for other ships, as there was no room for them in the fleet. Thus at the very outset, families were separated never to meet again. When the ships had sailed away, those who were left behind were huddled together in miserable camps near the sea, where many, happily for themselves, died of disease or exposure to the cold; for it was late in December before the last were taken away.

The deportation

More than seven thousand were driven on board the ships and distributed among the English colonies from Massachusetts to the Carolinas. South Carolina alone received more than a thousand; and large numbers were located in Georgia and Pennsylvania. The colonists did what they could to make their condition bearable; but great suffering and privations were necessarily added to

Distributed among English colonies

their mental anguish, by reason of their location in large communities, without adequate supplies of clothing and food, or the means wherewith to obtain them.

1755

In order that they might have no incentive to return to their native country, their homes were burnt and their farms laid waste. A rich and fertile district was transformed into a wilderness, rendered all the more dreary by blackened and smoldering ruins. If savages had done the work, they could not have been more thorough in the desolation that was wrought. But the English did not after all succeed in making the land tenantless of French. Many hid and escaped the hurried search of armed bands; many hundreds fled into Canada,—where they met far harsher and more grudging treatment from their compatriots and co-religionists than did the others from the inhabitants of the English colonies,—and slowly straggled back after the deporting troops had gone, during the remaining years of the war. When the long conflict was at last ended, nearly half the French Acadians had repossessed their bare lands, to rebuild rude shelters and live by fishing and hunting till they could gather fresh stock.

Acadia completely ravaged

Part of the French get back

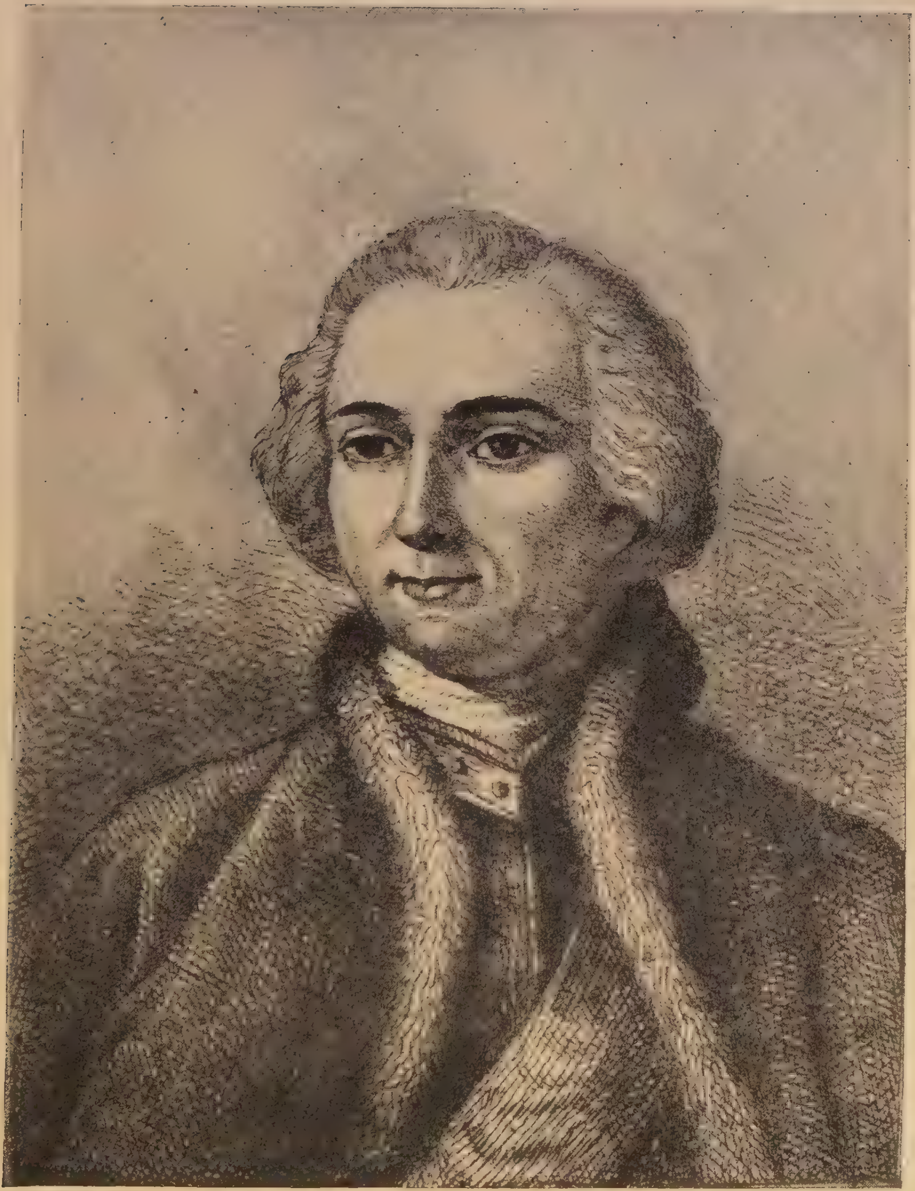
What must be our final judgment on this cruel and pitiful deed? We have given all the causes which led up to it, and gradually exacerbated the English into a performance from whose suggestion they would have shrunk with outraged horror forty years before; all the excuses and extenuations. Injuries, dangers, incurable grudge, slowly filled

Excuses for the affair

the cup; some panic and some greed overflowed it. 1755 Yet after all is said, the world's reprobation is not mistaken, nor mere sentiment over the inevitable calamities of progress and war, or the effect of a tenderly sad and beautiful poem. No political right has any such sacredness as to justify the extermination of the very subjects on which it is exercised: it is for people solely, not people for it,—and for people in the ancestral homes they have made when that is not incompatible with civilized occupancy. If it cannot maintain itself by force applied in civilized methods, it has no right to exist. If it cannot make loyal subjects, it must put up with disloyal ones till steady good government wins them over, or new generations are weaned from the old grudges that have made their elders foolishly withhold themselves from the stream of progress. It may reasonably punish, restrain, disarm, fine: it may not slay whole populations nor make a wilderness of whole regions. So doing cuts from under it all of its reason for existence.

Excuses not sufficient

It may of course be said,—it has been said,—that the measure was a military necessity like the removal of town populations in many wars. To this it is enough to reply, first, that it was executed after the military necessity had ceased, and every possible result it could have affected had been accomplished without it; second, that even otherwise, no other campaign of the Seven Years' War was influenced in the least by the fate of Acadia; third, that the temporary occupancy of



THE MARQUIS OF MONTCALM.

(By permission of the Chicago Historical Society.)

a site for military purposes has no relation to the systematic obliteration of all civilized improvements in a great province, and its reduction to the state of a wilderness, exactly as the Turks did to Asia Minor in the twelfth century. Their example will hardly be pleaded in justification of modern English, any more than the performances of the Assyrians and Romans in Judea. It is true also that they merely scattered, not killed out, the Acadians; but that we have dealt with. Nor can any palliation be alleged for the wanton, the bad-hearted, the callous recklessness and cruelty of the actual execution.

1755-6

Excuses disallowed

While the French were unsuccessful in their intrigues with the savages, better results attended their efforts in other directions. During the winter of 1755-6 they captured several small English outposts, and carried a number of prisoners to Canada. They also got their plans for the campaign against Oswego well under way. This, it will be remembered, was a favorite enterprise with Dieskau, who had abandoned it with reluctance to go to the relief of Crown Point. His original plan was now to be carried out. Early in the spring a reinforcement of three thousand French regulars arrived at Quebec, and were soon followed by the Marquis of Montcalm; a capable officer, already distinguished in the wars of Europe, who came over as commander of his country's armies in America. He was then in his 44th year, small of stature. very energetic, and burning with ambition to distinguish himself as a military leader.

Montcalm sent over

1756

Montcalm's fiery energy

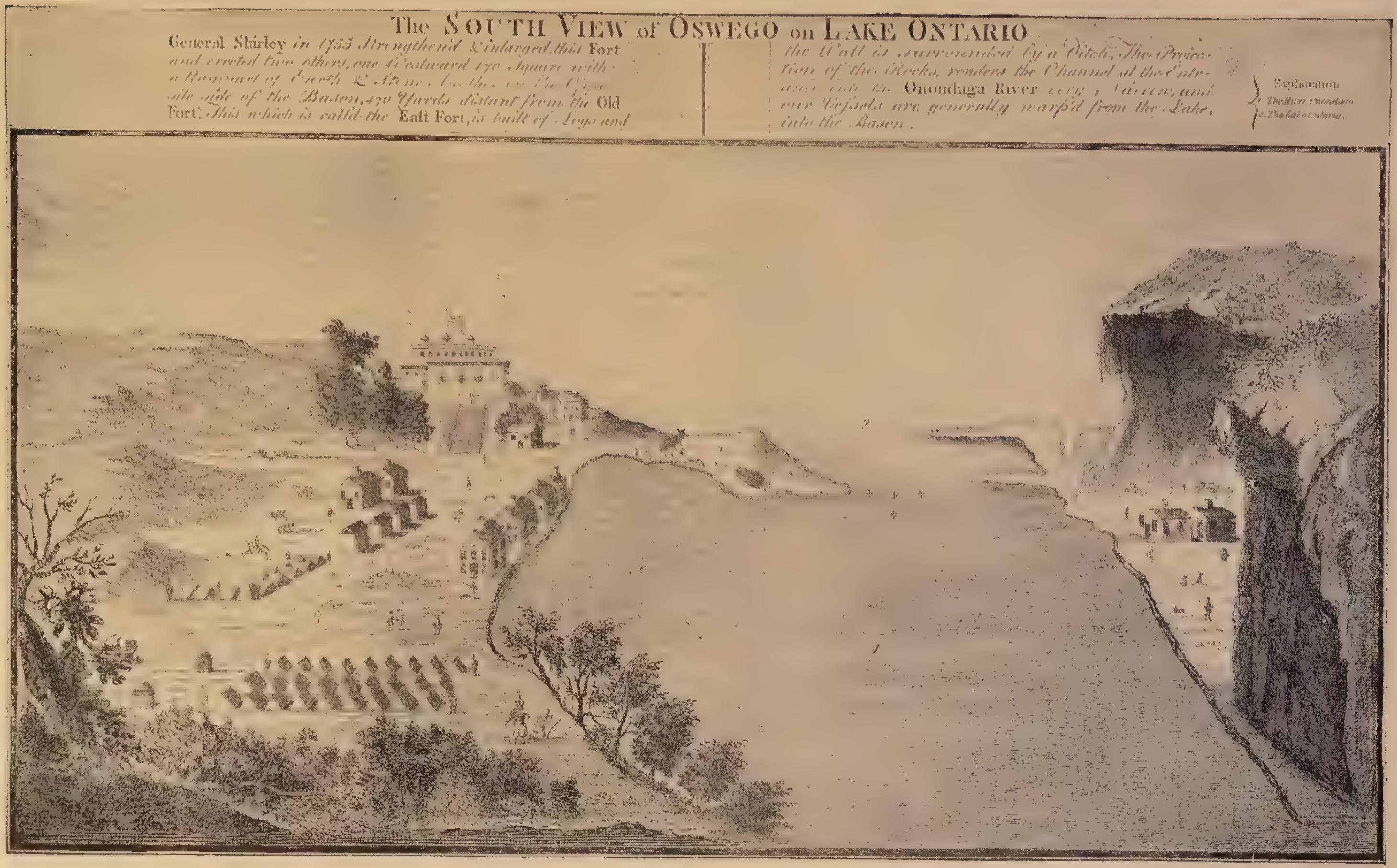
Prepares to capture Oswego

Collects force at Montreal

The new chief was a dangerous power to British interests, and his extraordinary activity soon aroused the English commanders in America to a sense of their danger. Without a moment's delay, marching by day and night, he proceeded to Ticonderoga, then the most advanced position held by the French in the central district. Finding everything there in a satisfactory state, Montcalm returned to Montreal and completed his preparations for the capture of Oswego. By this time he was in possession of a perfect knowledge of the situation in America, and set about carrying out his plans with an energy that surprised his friends no less than his enemies. Bringing three of the best regiments up from Quebec, he added them to a force of Indians and Canadians which he had collected at Montreal, until his entire command numbered about five thousand men, armed and equipped in the most perfect manner of the times. He had a train of more than thirty pieces of heavy artillery, besides six-pounder swivels, and other small guns. Some of these cannon had been captured from Braddock the previous year, and were now to be turned upon their former owners. The Indians regarded the new army and its equipment with savage satisfaction, being assured of victory and spoils, besides the glory they would achieve on the field of battle.

Lands a force near by

By the 8th of August the entire army had been transported across the lake from Fort Frontenac, and secretly landed behind a cape near Oswego —now known as Four-Mile Point. So well had



The SOUTH VIEW of OSWEGO on LAKE ONTARIO

General Shirley in 1755 Strengthen'd & inlarged this Fort and erected two others, one Westward 170 Square with a Rampart of Earth & Stone. Another on the Opposite side of the Bason, 470 Yards distant from the Old Fort. This which is call'd the Eaſt Fort, is built of Logs and the Wall is surrounded by a Ditch. The Projection of the Rocks, renders the Channel at the Entrance into the Onondaga River very Narrow, and our Veſsels are generally warp'd from the Lake, into the Bason.

Explanation
1. The River Onondaga
2. The Lake Ontario.

OSWEGO IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

everything been managed that Montcalm lay encamped at this place for two days, and had almost completed his arrangements for the investment of the fort, before his presence was discovered. Then Colonel Mercer, the English officer in command, ordered a brigantine to cruise near the camp of the enemy, so as to prevent any approach by water; but the next day, during a gale, the vessel was driven ashore, and while she lay helpless on the sand, Montcalm audaciously moved his cannon past her and brought his army within two miles of the English works. Other vessels were sent to annoy him, but he drove them back into the harbor with his heavy artillery.

1756

Montcalm moves up to Oswego

The French and Indians pressed on through the woods, and by noon of the 11th had completely surrounded the works. Nearly forty pieces of artillery were planted and ready to play upon the fortifications; but as the English had one hundred and twenty-five pieces, besides fourteen mortars and a number of smaller guns, with fourteen hundred men and the advantage of the defensive, and a respectable fleet of war vessels in the harbor, which even without a Perry or McDonough should have rendered effective service against shore fire, the disparity if any was rather in their favor if there had been any semblance of decent skill in management, or even ordinary soldierly courage and resolution. That was just what there was not. The fleet did simply nothing, and was soon blocked off by two French ships; the garrison fired their guns till the enemy got too near. then evacuated

Comparative resources of French and English

1756

one post, and as soon as there was danger of the other being stormed, hastily surrendered. There was not much of the spirit that held Londonderry, Saragossa, or the Long Saut. Montcalm's Indians counted for little in a siege—they were not good for much against stone walls; his Canadian militia were hardly the most formidable of fighters; and against the possible twenty-five hundred regulars the fourteen hundred should at least have shown a far more bloody and obstinate resistance. The real French superiority was a commander not only of skill but of nerve.

Nerveless English commander at Oswego

Nearly one-half of Colonel Mercer's force had been separated from the rest, and were lodged in the fort on the east side of the harbor. The French began the assault with small-arms, in an endeavor to storm the eastern fort; but they were driven back by a vigorous artillery fire from both sides of the inlet. Montcalm soon perceived that his superiority of numbers would count for but little against the destructive fire of more than one hundred and thirty cannon, and accordingly withdrew his assaulting columns and made his approaches that night by parallels. The next day he opened a brisk fire with small-arms at shorter range; but it had no perceptible effect on the garrison. When the morning of the third day came, Colonel Mercer was alarmed to see the French cannon planted within sixty yards of the eastern fort, and ready to open fire. He immediately signaled the men on that side to spike their guns, destroy their ammunition and stores, and retreat across the inlet.

Montcalm's assault repulsed

Makes trenches and brings cannon close

This was accomplished without the loss of a man, and in a manner so brilliant as to be highly creditable to the officer in command; but it would have been more to his credit not to have let the French get their cannon so near, or to have made them pay dear in doing so.

1756

Mercer's incompetence

During the night of the 13th, Montcalm succeeded in planting a battery of twelve heavy guns so as to enfilade the remaining works, and a destructive cannonade was opened with these early in the morning. Under cover of their fire, twenty-five hundred Canadians and Indians crossed the river and prepared for a general assault. Almost at the beginning of this movement Colonel Mercer was killed by a cannon-shot, and the command of the garrison devolved upon Colonel Littlehales. The situation was now becoming desperate. Every avenue of escape seemed to be cut off. It was known that a relief force under General Webb was *en route* from Albany; but Montcalm had provided against that by sending a strong detachment of Canadians to meet and hold it in check. The French commander left nothing to chance. He also planted a battery so as to cover the bay, and closed the mouth of the inlet with two war vessels. The net was perfectly drawn around the place; but Colonel Littlehales still had faint hope of relief from another source. On the bank of the river, not quite five miles above Oswego, stood an insignificant fortification known as Fort George, commanded at that time by Colonel Peter Schuyler, with one-half of his regiment; but they were not

Montcalm prepares to storm west fort

Warships close harbor

strong enough even to defend themselves, and were compelled the same day to surrender.

1756

Fort George captured

By ten o'clock on the morning of the 14th, Montcalm had completed all his arrangements and was crossing the river at the head of the regulars, bent on carrying the western fort by storm. Observing this, Colonel Littlehales ordered his drums to beat a parley, and the firing instantly ceased. Two officers, under flag of truce, went out to meet the French general and inquire on what terms he would accept a surrender. His note to the commander was as follows: "The Marquis of Montcalm, army and field marshal, commander-in-chief of his Christian Majesty's troops, is ready to receive a capitulation upon the most honorable conditions, surrendering to him all the forts. They shall be shown all the regard the politest nation can show. I send an aide-de-camp on my part, viz., Monsieur de Bougainville, captain of dragoons; they need only send the capitulation to be signed. I require an answer by noon. I have kept Mr. Drake for a hostage."

Montcalm gives terms of surrender

The capitulation immediately took place, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war under guarantee of humane treatment, exemption from plunder, and safe conduct to Montreal. But the French commander discovered, after the victory was won, that he could not control the barbarous instincts of his savage allies. Several unarmed men were murdered as they stood on the parade ground; many others were plundered. Thirty-three others, while attempting to escape, were

Broken by Indians

hunted down in the woods and ruthlessly butchered. But on the arrival of the remainder of the prisoners at Montreal, they were treated with kindness and humanity, every reasonable necessity being supplied to them by the officers of the army and the inhabitants. In accordance with their promise to the Indians, the French destroyed the fortifications and ships at Oswego.

1756

Indians murder prisoners

General Webb, with the relief column, had arrived at the portage between the Mohawk River and Wood's Creek when he heard of the surrender. Causing the river for a distance of several miles to be filled with fallen trees, he set out in a hasty flight for Albany. Curiously enough, the commander of the Canadian detachment resorted to a similar expedient; and the spectacle was presented of two hostile armies going in opposite directions, each supposing the other to be close upon its heels. Webb never stopped until he found himself safe behind the fortifications at Albany.

Webb and Canadians both run

Thus closed ingloriously the second campaign. Webb's flight left the whole northwest open to invasion, and the French were not slow to improve the opportunity. Again the Iroquois were importuned by emissaries from Canada, whose blandishments, coupled with the recent successes of the French arms, induced four of the tribes to break faith with the English. These were the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. But the English reoccupied Oswego before the close of 1757, and the Iroquois soon returned to their allegiance.

Iroquois break away from English

Iroquois vacillations

1756-7

Loudon

Meanwhile. in July 1756, John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, had arrived in America and assumed chief command. The fall of Oswego occurred soon after; and this alarming event induced the new commander to order a complete change of all campaign plans. A force of seven or eight thousand provincials had been assembled at Albany and at Forts Edward and William Henry, under General John Winslow. These troops were levied by order of General Shirley to use against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was a knowledge of this purpose that brought Montcalm to Ticonderoga in such haste immediately after his landing in America; but he must have learned while there that no immediate use would be made of the army,—probably he "sized up" Loudon very quickly,[1]—for he subsequently treated it with indifference.

Winslow's proposed Ticonderoga expedition

His absence in the northwest with nearly the whole of his forces left the way open to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and thence on to Montreal. Canada was at Winslow's mercy. The movement of his army northward would not only have given him Canada, but it would have saved Oswego by compelling Montcalm to abandon his operations against that place. The French commander would have been forced between the western and central divisions of the English forces, and been crushed as by a vise. Winslow alone had a far larger and better army than Montcalm could muster—nearly twice as many men, better equipped and superior

What it would have effected

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[1] Franklin said Loudon was like the figure of King George on the sign-boards: forever on horseback but never getting ahead.

in fighting capacity; and had he been permitted to act on his own judgment, he would pretty certainly have ended the war (not then Seven Years') in a single campaign.

1755

Winslow's force nullified

But Loudon, instead of using these troops in an aggressive campaign, ordered Winslow to fortify his camp. The contemplated expedition against Ticonderoga was abandoned; the golden opportunity was thrown away. Webb with fourteen hundred British regulars, and Sir William Johnson with one thousand New York provincials and Indians, were ordered to reinforce Winslow; and the three commanders, coming together, trembled in expectation of an assault by the French. But the latter were glad enough to be let alone; for an attack at that time, by the combined English forces, would have brought ruin to the French army.

Loudon's pusillanimity

Except for the pathetic side of the picture, the situation would have been ludicrous. While this army of nearly twelve thousand men lay intrenched in its camp on the Hudson, not daring to venture out lest it should be cut to pieces by five thousand Frenchmen, the frontiers from Virginia to New York were ravaged by the Indians, and thousands of settlers driven from their homes. A savage warfare, unequaled in ferocity, spread over the whole of the western and northwestern frontier. This was the period of Washington's greatest trial, when, with a few hundred Virginia riflemen, he endeavored to protect all that part of his native province lying west of the mountains.

Results

Indian ravages on the borders

1756

All this could have been prevented by a single judicious movement in the direction of Crown Point and Montreal. The French would have been compelled to withdraw the marauding parties that protected and aided the savages, and concentrate their strength for the defense of Canada. But the English army remained penned up in its fortified camp, the soldiers fretting at their inactivity, until the provincials became mutinous, and about half of them deserted and returned to their homes. Then, placing small garrisons in Forts Edward and William Henry, Loudon dismissed the remaining provincials, and sent the regulars into winter quarters as unwelcome boarders in the seacoast cities. It is said that he even contemplated establishing a fortified camp on Long Island as a protection against the French and Indians!

Natural military movements

Loudon's cowardly negation

The campaign of 1756, like the one of the previous year, had been inglorious for the English. But one minor advantage had been gained as an offset to their numerous reverses. This was an achievement by Colonel John Bradstreet, a British officer who first won distinction in the campaign against Louisbourg in 1745. At the beginning of the present war he had received the appointment of commissary-general under Shirley; and during the summer of 1756 he was charged with the duty of keeping communication open between Albany and Oswego, and of supplying the garrison at the latter place with provisions and military stores. It was an arduous and dangerous service, but well performed by this gallant officer. Nearly the

Bradstreet

entire line of communication passed through the country of the Iroquois, most of whom were then wavering in their adherence to the English, while many were openly hostile. Parties of French and Canadian Indians roamed at will over this region, interfering with Bradstreet's movements.

1756

Bradstreet's route through Iroquois country

A small stockade fort had been established on the Mohawk, near the present site of Rome, where the portage began from that stream to Oneida Lake. The fort was at length captured and occupied by the French, who thereupon became more troublesome than ever. Finally, on the 3d of July, while returning from one of his western trips. Bradstreet was attacked by a considerable force of Canadians and Indians on the bank of the Oswego, between the fort and the lake. He defeated and drove them back, but on reaching the lake a much larger party fell upon him with savage fury. These he also routed after an engagement of several hours, the enemy leaving nearly two hundred dead on the field, while Bradstreet's loss was only about thirty. It was a brilliant affair, and won much well-deserved fame for the commander and his troops.

French capture fort on Mohawk

Bradstreet defeats French and English

The southwest meanwhile was the only section of the country that enjoyed comparative peace. Here the marvelous energies of the colonies were displayed in a conspicuous manner. New settlements were formed, and those already in existence increased their populations, while industries of various kinds were established and flourished. In Georgia a new company of adventurers penetrated

The southwest

beyond the Altamaha, and establishing themselves 1756 in the country lying between that river and the St. Mary's, organized an independent government, to which they gave the name New Hanover. This region had long been recognized as a part of the territory of Georgia; but the Spaniards protested that it belonged to them, and threatened to forcibly expel the settlers unless they went of their own accord. They refused to be intimidated, and held out for some time in spite of Spanish threats and aggressions; but finally the government of Georgia extended its jurisdiction and protection over them. The Spaniards continued their menaces for some time, but never thereafter resorted to force.

New Hanover

Taken in by Georgia

But in the north and northeast the gloomiest apprehensions were entertained. The English forces had met with disaster in Europe as well as America, and apprehension began to be felt that the nation might not much longer be able to maintain its position as a leading power. Some even predicted that the colonies would have to be surrendered to the victorious French. But a period of reinvigoration was at hand. England's weakness was not intrinsic, but the result of a corrupt jobbing clique-government:[1] her imperial power was soon to be established on a broad and permanent basis.

Gloomy prophecies for England

William Pitt

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[1] It reached the *nadir* of its natural administrative degradation in 1756–8—perhaps rather, the war furnished a theatre to display it: the three most cowardly and incompetent officers ever sent to America, Loudon, Webb and Abercrombie, came over by evil chance within two years as the result of political "influence" and "deals." Nothing better shows the intrinsic weakness of French colonialty then its failure even with such opponents.

The splendid era of the elder Pitt's supremacy was approaching. In 1745, Lord Pelham, then prime minister, had requested that Pitt be made secretary of war; and if this advice had been acted upon, England might have escaped much of the humiliation that fell to her lot during the next twelve years. But the King (George II.) hated Pitt, and would not consent to his advancement. He then, for a considerable period, filled the offices of joint-vice-treasurer of Ireland and paymaster of the army, with such fidelity and devotion as to establish himself firmly in the hearts of the people. But in 1755 he resigned his offices and retired to private life, that he might be free to oppose the policy of the administration.

1745-56

William Pitt

Pitt was still out of office when Prince George (afterwards George III.) attained his majority, but his boldness in attacking official blunders and sins made him more powerful in England than even the King. His success in preventing the separation of the young prince from his mother, an administration measure, emphasized his influence and made him more formidable than ever. The King no longer dared ignore him; and in 1757 he was restored to office, with added powers that made him virtually prime minister. Then began one of the most brilliant eras in English history. The incompetents and court favorites who had been filling the offices were removed as far as possible, and men of courage and brains put in their places. Victories began once more to gladden the British heart. Public confidence in the army and navy

Prime minister

Results

was restored; the flag demanded and received the respect of the nations; while an era of unexampled prosperity dawned upon the commercial enterprises of the country. 1756-7

Forts Edward and William Henry

But before Pitt's measure could be brought into full activity, America was destined to suffer still further humiliation at the hands of the French. No military events of special importance, however, occurred in the western world during the winter of 1756-7. With one exception, Forts Edward and William Henry remained undisturbed. These were now the advanced posts of the English, and their importance was felt to be commensurate with the danger of their locations. Yet the inefficiency of Loudon left them without adequate defense, exposed to any bold adventure or sudden dash that the French might make against them. Their garrisons, however, were composed of provincials, commanded by their own officers; and these, being thoroughly familiar with the peculiar strategy of the enemy, and always on guard, prevented any successful movement against either of the posts.

Montcalm moves against Fort William Henry

During the first part of March, 1757, Montcalm made an effort to capture Fort William Henry, but was baffled by the watchfulness of the men stationed there. At that time the lakes were still solidly frozen over, with ice strong enough to bear all the legions of France. This afforded a broad and open roadway to the very walls of the fort. Concentrating his forces at Ticonderoga, and providing them with sledges drawn by Canadian dogs, Montcalm marched southward over Lake George, the "Silver Water" of the Mohawks, or "tail of the lake," as it was sometimes called from its peculiar connection with Champlain. They proceeded rapidly and stealthily, marching only by night. They kindled no fires and cooked no food, but carried with them provisions enough to last throughout the expedition. It was a shrewdly planned and well-conducted movement, but it resulted in failure.

1757

Montcalm advances on Fort William Henry

In one of the companies of Major Rogers' corps of rangers there was a young lieutenant named John Stark, afterward famous for great deeds in the war for independence. Fortunately, Stark was in command during the temporary absence of his superior officer. Among the rangers were a number of Irishmen, ardently devoted to the memory of their patron saint; and it was the custom of these gallant fellows to celebrate the saint's natal day in a manner not peculiar to themselves. Aware of this, Montcalm arranged his plans to make the attack on St. Patrick's day, when he expected to find a number of the men unfit for duty by reason of over-indulgence. Arriving in the vicinity of the fort late in the evening of the 16th, he encamped for the night, that his men might secure needed rest. Here they remained, undiscovered, until the afternoon of the following day, when they made a rush and endeavored to carry the fort by storm. The surprise was indeed complete, for the garrison had received no warning of their presence; but they met with a reception

For a St. Patrick's Day surprise

Irish not too mellow to shoot

so hot and deadly that they were glad to retreat with considerable loss. Not yet prepared for a decisive movement upon it, Montcalm withdrew to Ticonderoga, and made no further demonstration against Fort William Henry until midsummer, when the incompetence of Loudon and the timidity of Webb opened the way for its capture.

1757

Fort William Henry

Meanwhile Loudon was busily engaged in demonstrating his utter unfitness for the command of an army. In January 1757 he attended a council of governors at Boston, which had been called to consider plans for the approaching campaign. There he made an unfortunate display of ill-temper, and gave great offense by attributing all the late disasters to the misconduct of the provincial troops, and the failure of the governors to promptly supply him with men and stores; claiming that whatever degree of safety the colonies enjoyed was due to the good conduct and discipline of the British regulars—as if anybody had forgotten Braddock's late experience. The governors retorted by saying that he had made no use of the men they had placed at his disposal; he had not given them an opportunity to show what they could do; and they manifested no great willingness to raise other levies to be held in idleness as the previous ones had been. The commander's aspersions were so wide of the well-known facts, and his promises so unreliable, that the governors would have treated both with indifference, except for the gravity of the situation. But every one felt that a crisis was at hand, and

London's foolish diatribe before governors

Their disgust but sense of duty

that something must be done to save the colonies from a catastrophe; and they accordingly pledged themselves to do all they could in providing whatever might be needed to insure the success of a new campaign.

1757

Loudon thereupon declared that he would require the New England provinces to provide an army of four thousand men, to be dispatched to New York, where they were to be combined with the levies of that province and New Jersey, for an enterprise whose purpose and destination he desired should for the present remain a secret. But he assured the council that the expedition he had in view would be congenial to the wishes and interests of the people of New England. By this intimation they understood that it was his purpose to attempt the reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg, an enterprise which seemed to them like going back to first principles and doing a sensible thing. Such a movement was very popular, especially in the northeast. The men of New England had taken Louisbourg twelve years before, and they had no doubt of their ability to repeat the achievement.

Loudon calls for a provincial army

Hints at movement on Louisbourg

Early in the spring the troops assembled at New York, where levies came not only from New England, but from all the provinces to the west and southwest, not even excepting Virginia and the distant Carolinas. More than six thousand men, representing the best blood of the colonies, were thus brought together, eager for any undertaking, however dangerous, provided it had the

The provinces furnish the army

promise of success. It was a thinking army, impatient of delay, and easily irritated at any appearance of incompetence on the part of the general. In the matter of arms and varying uniforms, it was probably one of the most picturesque bodies of men ever assembled on this or any other continent. There was scarcely a man in the whole army who had not seen service in the wars with the Indians. It was an assembly of veterans, which in the hands of a capable leader might have been rendered invincible. But now that his wishes had been complied with, Loudon seemed devoid of a definite plan, and probably had had none. He appeared to have quite forgotten his half-promised expedition against Louisbourg, and intimated that it was his intention to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point. When Montcalm heard of this, he regarded it as the most probable destination of the army; and he accordingly assembled all his forces at Ticonderoga. amounting to more than nine thousand men, including regulars, Canadians, and Indians.

1757

Loudon's fine colonial force

Fumbling plans

But early in June, before Loudon had developed any plans, it was reported that a British army of six thousand men had landed at Halifax. This army was supported by a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, besides transports and bomb-ketches, commanded by Admiral Holborn and Commodore Holmes. Then, for once in his life, Loudon acted. As commander-in-chief of all the forces in America, he was authorized to assume control of the army and fleet at Halifax;

Suddenly goes to Halifax

and he accordingly loaded his men at New York into transports and sailed for the peninsula. Arriving there on the 30th of June, he found himself at the head of a splendid force of more than twelve thousand men, half of whom were British regulars; besides a fine fleet to support him in any movement he might desire to make. But his ardor fled as soon as he landed; the whole summer was frittered away, and nothing done worthy of a commander. He leveled a parade-ground, planted a vegetable garden to prevent scurvy, and exercised his troops in absurd manœuvres and sham battles. The men at length became so impatient that had they all been provincials, they would doubtless have mutinied and returned home. Some of the officers were bold in denouncing the commander's absurd behavior, and Major-General Lord Charles Hay expressed his contempt in such unequivocal terms that he was arrested and court-martialed.

1757

Loudon's feeble conduct at Halifax

Disgust of his officers

But nothing came of all the fuss and parade. Loudon claimed to have discovered that the fortifications at Louisbourg were stronger than he expected, and that the garrison was larger; but while he waited and doubted and procrastinated, the French threw reinforcements into the place and made it stronger than ever. Then his battle-fever returned, and he gave orders for a forward movement; but they had scarcely been issued before they were countermanded. The army had been hustled on board the ships and was ready to sail, when Loudon learned that the French fleet

Vacillates over Louisbourg

Returns to New York

at Louisbourg contained one more ship than his. Thereupon he sailed back to New York. 1757

On the way he received intelligence of a frightful disaster at Fort William Henry, due to his own incompetence. On his departure for Halifax he had left an army of nine thousand French and Indians unoccupied at Fort Ticonderoga. With such a commander as Montcalm, this army was not long permitted to remain inactive. The French commander was the direct opposite in character of Loudon. He was the epitome of energy and quickness of resolution. He believed that war meant carnage and doing mischief; and since the blunders of his opponent had made an opening for him, while Loudon was planting a garden at Halifax and leveling the clods on his parade-ground, Montcalm was concentrating all his forces for a dash against Fort William Henry.

Montcalm's large army at Ticonderoga

During the latter part of July the Indians defeated a large party of American boatmen on Lake George, and captured a number of prisoners, some of whom were subjected to torture. Still Webb made no movement for the protection of the forts. Under his immediate command at Fort Edward there were about four thousand men, well supplied with artillery and munitions of war. At Fort William Henry there were three thousand more, so that a combination of the two detachments would have been only two thousand short of the force that Montcalm was leading southward. The English army was composed

Webb's supine dawdling

English forces in the forts

mainly of provincials, most of whom were veterans in the art of Indian warfare; and their concentration behind the walls of either of the forts would have made them invincible against any force that Montcalm could then bring to meet them. A large party of his army was composed of Indians, who would not face a fortified position defended by artillery. The advantage, therefore, was on the side of the English, in everything except leadership.

1757

Montcalm arrives near William Henry

Toward the last of July, Montcalm drew his force up within a few miles of the fort, and found the tents of the English soldiers spread out over the adjacent valley as if no danger were apprehended. His arrival had all the advantage of a surprise, although his approach had been open and leisurely. Any competent commander would have known he was on the way weeks before he came. Word was instantly dispatched to Webb at Fort Edward, warning him that the French were near at hand; and he came up to the lake with an escort of two hundred rangers under Israel Putnam. The latter was sent down the lake with eighteen men to ascertain the position of the enemy, and he found them much more numerous than had been expected. The islands at Northwest Bay were swarming with French and Indians. Montcalm's entire army of nine thousand men was advancing to surround the fort. When Putnam returned, he begged the privilege of attacking them with his regiment of rangers, believing that even with so small a force he could

Webb comes up to reconnoitre

Putnam wishes to attack

1757

Webb refuses to let Putnam attack

drive them back. His familiarity with Indian warfare inspired him with contempt for the enemy, while his native courage infused into his bosom an eagerness for battle that was not always tempered by discretion. But Webb refused permission for him to do anything more than return and bring off two boats and their crews, that he had left fishing. This mission Putnam accomplished, though with great risk to himself and his men; for they were pursued by a large force of Indians in canoes, and on several occasions were almost surrounded by savages.

Orders him to leave William Henry to its fate

Putnam remonstrates

Webb now commanded Putnam to bind his men by oath not to reveal the proximity of the enemy; and then ordered him and the rangers to accompany him as an escort back to Fort Edward. The garrison at William Henry was to be ignominiously abandoned to destruction. Amazed at such poltroonery, Putnam's indignation overleaped his discretion, and he exclaimed: "I hope your Excellency does not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of giving battle, should the enemy presume to land." To this remonstrance Webb coolly replied: "What do you think we should do here?" The brave provincial deemed it prudent to remain silent, but it seemed to him that a soldier ought to find plenty to do here. Montcalm did not begin the siege until the 3d of August, nearly a week after Putnam's reconnoissance. This delay afforded time enough either to withdraw the garrison to a place of safety, or reinforce it with men enough to maintain the position; but

Webb did nothing—save to keep himself in a safe place.

1757

Now that he was so near the accomplishment of his purpose, the French commander himself appeared undecided. He hesitated, waited, and held back, instead of pushing swiftly forward. But this was simply because he credited Webb with the ordinary sense and spirit of a soldier, and supposed he would do what he himself or any true soldier would naturally do: concentrate his forces and give his foeman battle on nearly equal terms. If Webb had been a captain of this type, he would have rejoiced at the opportunity; for by following merely the blind professional routine he might have driven the enemy back, saved the fort, and won fame for himself. The day after his visit to the lake, he sent Colonel Monroe, with a regiment of regulars, to take command there; thus needlessly consigning that many more brave men to massacre, for the reinforcement was too small to affect the result. Three thousand men could not successfully contend against nine thousand.

Montcalm fears Webb

Quite unnecessarily

On the 3d of August Montcalm landed at the head of the lake, and the same day invested the fort with his whole army and a fine train of artillery. As soon as his battalions were in position and his cannon planted, Montcalm sent a flag with a generous proposal for capitulation; but Monroe, a brave man, sent back the simple reply that he would not yield. Then the battle began, and raged for a week, less one day, without much damage on either side. Montcalm's artillery was badly

Montcalm invests William Henry

1757

Webb refuses to succor William Henry

handled, the firing wild and inaccurate, and but few casualties resulted. Two of Monroe's cannon, however, burst during the week, killing and maiming other men than were hurt by the fire of the besiegers. The investment was loosely drawn, and nearly every day Monroe sent appeals to Webb for succor. With a single exception these calls were unheeded. The chief commander remained securely within the walls at Fort Edward, indifferent to the fate of his countrymen.

Advises surrender

One of the dispatches, however, forwarded the second day, brought a response advising Monroe to surrender on the best terms he could get, as Webb could not send him any assistance until reinforcements arrived from the south. The letter fell into the hands of Montcalm, who promptly forwarded it to its destination, with a polite suggestion that the advice ought to be acted upon. Reinforcements did arrive the same day this note was written. Sir William Johnson reached Fort Edward that day with a considerable body of provincials and Indians, which brought the whole English force up to an equality with that of the enemy. Johnson and Putnam now begged the privilege of heading a relief column, and Webb consented; but when a call for volunteers was made nearly the whole garrison sprang forward, so eager were the men to go to the assistance of their friends. Seeing that he would be compelled either to accompany the men or remain practically alone at the fort, Webb withdrew his sanction to the movement, and would not allow them to march.

Johnson and Putnam ask to relieve it

Webb refuses

Finally, Johnson and Putnam prevailed on him to let them go with the rangers; but when they had arrived within three miles of the lake, Webb recalled them.

1757

At the end of the sixth day Monroe, despairing of succor, and seeing that he could no longer hold his position, asked for a parley and terms of surrender. Liberal conditions were offered, and accepted. It was agreed that the garrison should march out with their arms and baggage; that they should be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of French troops; that they should not serve again against France for a period of eighteen months; that the works and all the warlike stores should be delivered to the besiegers, and that the sick and wounded should remain under the protection of Montcalm and be permitted to return home as soon as they recovered. The conditions were similar to those granted Washington at the surrender of Fort Necessity, but they were not complied with. The Indians in Montcalm's army, numbering over two thousand, had been induced to join the expedition by the promise of plunder; and when they learned that they were to be denied that privilege, they became violently enraged.

Fair terms of surrender

Indians furious

The surrender took place in the evening, but the besieged did not leave the protection of the fort until the following morning. During the night the Indians discussed the situation among themselves; and having unfortunately obtained some liquor from the English,—who evidently hoped by that means to gain their favor,—the fury

Drunken resentment

1757

of intoxication was added to that of savage resentment. The Abenakis of Acadia availed themselves of the opportunity to inflame the minds of their countrymen with stories of the wrongs that had been inflicted upon them by the English; so that by morning the whole body of Indians were ready for a wild orgie of savage cruelty and rapacity. With the first streaks of dawn the soldiers were formed into columns, and accompanied by the women of the garrison, marched out of the fort. No hostile demonstrations were made until the last of the men were beyond the protection of the walls, when the savages fell simultaneously upon the entire line. Nearly one-half of the prisoners, or about fifteen hundred men, with a number of the women, were massacred.

Garrison of William Henry march out

Massacred by Indians

Either from design or through some deplorable oversight, the promised escort of French troops was not supplied; but a number of officers did exert themselves to the utmost of their ability to put a stop to the barbarities. Some of them, seizing muskets, stood guard over the sick in the hospital tents, while others shouted to the prisoners to fire upon their persecutors. But as soon as the massacre commenced, a wild panic seized the victims, and they fled along the road toward Fort Edward, and into the woods, without any thought of resistance. The savages pursued their horrible work half-way to Fort Edward, when, fearing an attack from that quarter, they desisted and returned to the scene of the battle. The massacre ceased only when there were no more victims.

Partial making good of French promises

Flight and butchery

1757

Webb made no effort to protect the fugitives, but cowered behind the stone walls in abject fright. On reaching Fort Edward, the miserable remnant that had escaped the bullet and the hatchet rushed within the protecting walls in a half-demented condition, horrified at the brutal atrocities they had witnessed. Not all, however, were killed, for many were carried away into captivity; while the Indians who had served on the side of the English were reserved for torture.

Escape of a small part of garrison

The responsibility of the French officers for this affair was never fully determined. Montcalm indignantly denied that there was any connivance on their part, and asserted that while he did everything in his power to prevent the massacre, and to stop it after it had commenced, he was powerless to control his Indian allies without ordering the French troops to fire upon them. It must be said to his credit, that he soon afterward caused all the prisoners who had been carried into captivity to be ransomed and returned to their friends; and it is undisputed that in a number of instances, French officers risked their lives in defending captives whom they had rescued from the ferocity of the savages. It does not appear that any inquiry was made into the conduct of Webb, who by his cowardice was responsible for the whole lamentable affair. After the siege and massacre he sent his personal baggage to a place of greater safety, and declared his purpose to destroy Fort Edward and retreat to the Highlands of the Hudson. What he might have done can only be

Responsibility

Webb

conjectured, had not the French themselves withdrawn to Ticonderoga.

1757

This retrograde movement gave Webb relief. Loudon, as badly frightened as his subordinate, discussed the advisability of concentrating the whole army on Long Island. During the first ebullitions of the panic that ensued, Governor Pownall of Massachusetts ordered all inhabitants west of the Connecticut River to destroy their wheeled carriages, and drive their cattle to Boston for safety; but fortunately the people were less frightened than their governor, and this foolish order was not obeyed. Many persons in high places feared and predicted the end of English occupation in America; but in fact the massacre at Fort William Henry marked the beginning of the decline of French power on the continent. It was their last aggressive movement of any consequence against the English settlements. Thereafter the English carried the war into Canada. French and Indian atrocities, as ever, won no permanent conquests: they merely aroused an unquenchable thirst for vengeance. Henceforth the French stood on the defensive, while the English pressed forward with an energy born of wrath and conscious resource. They were destined, however, to meet with other reverses, from the weakness of their leaders; but each recoil was followed by a still greater wave of advancing power, until the French were overwhelmed and driven from the continent.

English panic over capture of William Henry

The tide turns for English

After having destroyed the fortifications at William Henry, Montcalm withdrew his army to

1757

Ticonderoga and Crown Point, a movement necessitated by the dissatisfaction among his Indian allies. The Iroquois especially had not yet become used to their new relations; they were embittered and threatened to abandon the French cause if not given full license to plunder the prisoners.

French trouble with Indians

On learning that the French had withdrawn,—a fact which the rangers quickly reported,—Webb detached Major Putnam and his command to watch their movements and ascertain their probable destination. Putnam first marched directly to the ruins of the fort. What he saw there is best described in the graphic language of the hero himself: "The fort," he said, "was entirely demolished; the barracks, out-houses, and buildings were a heap of ruins; the cannon, stores, boats, and vessels were all carried away. The fires were still burning, the smoke and stench offensive and suffocating. Devastation, barbarity, and horror everywhere appeared, and the spectacle presented was too diabolical and awful either to be endured or described."

Putnam's report on William Henry

The fort was never rebuilt. Briers and brambles came up and covered the walls, and a century afterward no vestige of the place could be seen. The location was unwise in the beginning, and the horrors that succeeded gave it the reputation of a haunted spot. A new fort was afterward built on an eminence a mile southeast of the old works, and half a mile from the lake, and called Fort George. Some remains of this fort are still to be seen; but Fort William Henry has

Fort left a ruin

utterly perished, like its defenders and those who assailed it.

1757-8

No other operations of special importance occurred during the remainder of the season of 1757, or the succeeding winter. The French, doubtless having their own problems of supply and of dealing with their fickle intractable savage allies which were not confided to the world, retired within their own lines, where they remained inactive; and the British commanders were very glad to be let alone The Indians, under the encouragement and leadership of a few French officers and soldiers, did indeed fall upon and utterly destroy the small settlement of German Flats, on the Mohawk, within the present limits of Herkimer County. About the same time they attacked and destroyed other settlements in the same region; but with these exceptions the winter passed in comparative quiet.

Winter of inaction

Indian atrocities

The mortification of defeat, and the knowledge that it was due to the gross incapacity of the British commanders, aroused a spirit of resentment throughout the colonies. The governor of New Hampshire wrote that the people of his province treated the royal prerogative with contempt; and similar sentiments were said to prevail in the Carolinas and New York. The events of the past two and a half years had seriously weakened the loyalty of the Americans; and this spirit was fostered by the outrageous and tyrannical measures of Loudon. He insisted, more strenuously than ever, in billeting the regulars and their officers on the citizens, contrary to the British Constitution

Colonies begin to despise Britain

and the immemorial instincts of English rights. The officers themselves, in many instances, protested against this course, which was as disagreeable to them as it was exasperating to the people.

1757-8

Loudon billets regulars on citizens

But on other occasions subordinates were as arrogant as the commander. In one instance, several officers who had come from Nova Scotia to Boston to recruit their regiments applied to the justices of the peace, demanding that they should be supplied with quarters at the homes of the citizens suited to the dignity of their stations. The justices refused, on the ground that they had no authority to grant billets without the sanction of the Assembly. The officers thereupon complained to Loudon, who wrote in peremptory terms to the Governor, demanding that the King's officers should be accommodated. But the Boston authorities were no more subservient to the commander than they were to his subordinates. Infuriated at their firmness, Loudon wrote from New York, declaring that his patience and gentleness were exhausted, and that if the officers were not instantly accommodated, he would take measures to insure obedience. "I have ordered the messenger," he said, "to wait but forty-eight hours in Boston; if on his return I find things not settled, I will instantly order into Boston three regiments from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more are wanted, I have two in the Jerseys at hand, besides three in Pennsylvania." Campbell had the conventional Scotch temper, except before an enemy who could fight.

Refused quarters in Boston

Threatens military occupation

1757-8

Massachusetts tries to compromise with Loudon

Loudon blusters to Shirley

Assembly give way

The tone of this letter seemed to threaten a conflict with the British authorities; and desiring to avoid that extremity, the Assembly passed what they termed a compromise measure, with provisions similar to those of the Parliamentary act. This served merely to increase the irritation of the commander. It is probable, however, that he was assuming a part, to see how far he could go; for he availed himself of the first favorable opportunity to retire from his lofty position. But for the time being, he wrote to the Governor that the Assembly had nothing to do with the dispute; that "in times of war the rules and customs of war must prevail"; and he concluded by asserting that the troops were already under orders and marching on Boston. The statement was false. The soldiers had received no orders to march on Boston; and they never came. Loudon, however, succeeded in alarming the members of the provincial Assembly; and they voted an address to the Governor, which, though couched in temperate language, reasserted their right to arrange for themselves all matters of local government, and at the same time acquiesced in the demand for the billeting of the officers. Loudon affected to regard this as a surrender of the principle for which they had contended, and he wrote to the home government that he could now depend upon the Assembly making the matter of quarters easy in all coming time.

The time was now at hand when Loudon was to be removed from the position he had disgraced,

GENERAL AMHERST.

and wiser and more vigorous measures instituted. He was in Boston, whither he had gone to demand fresh levies of troops, when news of his approaching downfall came. He found the Governor and the Assembly unwilling to place even the most insignificant force at his command, without a definite statement as to what use he expected to make of it. They had no desire to levy and equip an army to raise garden vegetables in Nova Scotia; and they were determined not to place the young men of the colony in a position where they might become the victims of savage hate through the incompetence of Loudon or his subordinates. With true Yankee shrewdness they propounded him a number of questions, which he was unable or unwilling to answer; but the dispute had not reached an acute stage when Loudon was notified of his removal. General Jeffery Amherst had been appointed in his place: but as that officer could not sail from England for some time, the command of the army in America was given temporarily to General James Abercrombie, another Scotchman like Loudon:[1] too much like him. This change had been made by direction of William Pitt, who was now at the head of the government; but Loudon's friends, in spite of his ignominious failure, protested loudly against his removal, and for a period succeeded in hampering the great

1757–8

Loudon demands more colonial troops

Massachusetts reluctant

Amherst

Abercrombie

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[1] The just repute of the Highland Scotch as fighters seems to have led at this time to a gross overestimate of the ability of all Scotch officers as commanders; besides which, the Scotch nobility and gentry were most tenacious, not to say rapacious, patronage-jobbers. But the personal cowardice of so many of their appointees is singular.

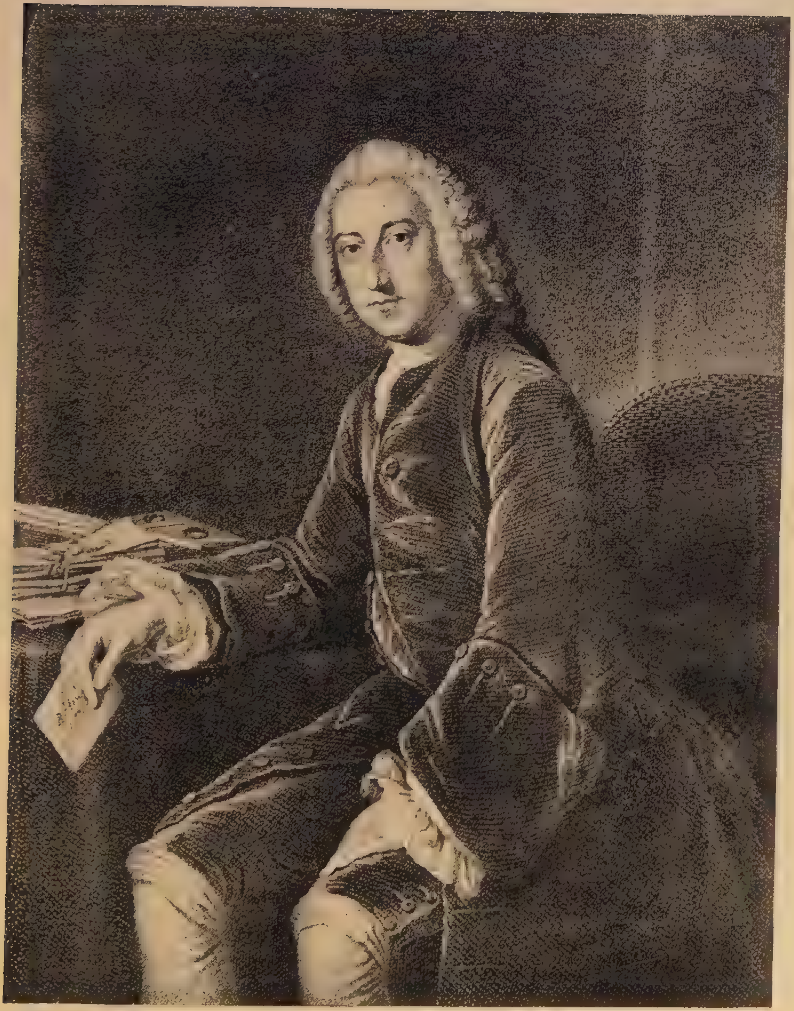
minister in the prosecution of his measures. He had also occasion to regret even the temporary appointment of Abercrombie, who proved no more capable of commanding an army than was Loudon, and with as great a regard for his own skin. 1757-8

Pitt at the helm

When Pitt assumed the reins of government he observed to the Duke of Devonshire, "I am sure I can save this country, and that nobody else can." It was a sublime declaration of faith in his own powers, which would have sounded egotistical and ludicrous coming from a less able man. But he had a thorough grasp of the situation; he knew what was necessary to cure the evils that enveloped his country. Pitt set for himself the task of lifting England out of the mire of official incompetency, and the venal family politics which bred it.

Letter to the colonies

The same express that notified Loudon of his recall conveyed a circular letter from the minister to the colonial governors, informing them that it was the purpose of the administration to send over immediately a large armament to attack the French in America by sea as well by land. The war was to be vigorously pressed on both elements; competent commanders were to be placed in charge of the various movements, and the old policy of weakness superseded by one of bold enterprise. The English armies and fleets would no longer stand on the defensive; they would henceforward force the fighting and press the enemy to the wall. This was the kind of information to stir the enthusiasm of the colonists; for



WILLIAM PITT.

the policy of aggression suited their energetic dispositions. In all the contests which they had conducted on their own account, they had never failed to carry the war into the enemy's country; and their success had convinced them that this was the true policy. The circular letter contained no hint of public fund or taxation by Parliament, but it invited the colonies to raise such levies of auxiliary troops as their population would justify. The colonial governors were requested to organize, clothe, and pay their troops, and appoint the regimental officers; but the arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, boats, etc., would be supplied by the Crown.

1757-8

Pitt's letter to the colonies to raise troops

This communication produced the desired effect. A degree of enthusiasm spread over the colonies such as had not been witnessed for years. Instantly they recovered from their despondent mood and put away their anger. The levies of the various provinces exceeded all expectation or requirement. New England raised nearly thirty thousand men; and when private subscriptions were called for in Boston to encourage recruits, more than $100,000 were subscribed in a single day. Everywhere the enthusiasm was unbounded. The memory of the foul massacre at Fort William Henry, and the generous tone of the minister's circular letter, made a profound impression on the American colonists. More than twenty thousand men were soon in line, in the northern colonies, for expeditions against Montreal and Quebec; while Pennsylvania and the southern provinces

Splendid response

assumed the task of capturing Fort Duquesne, hoping this time to fight in their own way.

1758

The colonies soon had evidence of the sincerity of the new prime minister. Early in the spring of 1758, Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax with a respectable fleet, and a land force under General Amherst of 12,000 men. Other detachments followed soon after, until the British regulars in America numbered over 22,000 men. The largest army ever assembled by the English in the New World was now organized for active operation against the enemy. More than 50,000 men were under arms and eager for the fray. France saw the coming storm, but was not able to protect herself from its destructive force. Her attention was so fully occupied by her European troubles that she had but few soldiers to spare for service in the American dependencies. But she hoped to overcome this disparity in numbers by the ability of her officers and the courage of her men.

England and America pour out armies

French overmatched

Among the movements that Pitt had planned was a second expedition against Fort Duquesne, the command of which was assigned to Brigadier-General John Forbes, still another Scotchman. Forbes was at least no craven; but he was in the last stages of a fatal illness, and in no condition to head an army in an active campaign against the Indians. Moreover, his disposition, like that of his unfortunate predecessor, was unyielding and red-tapish to the last degree. His obstinacy had gained him the nickname of "The Head of Iron," fully justified by his course in this campaign.

General Forbes

But as if to make amends for the misfortunes and idiosyncrasies of the commander, everything else that was possible was done to insure success. A force of about 6500 men was organized, of whom 1200 were Highlanders, with a reputation as fierce fighters unequaled by any other troops ever sent to America. The remainder of the army consisted of 350 Royal Americans, or natives of this continent who had enlisted in the regular British service, and about 5000 provincials. Two thousand of the latter were Virginians, divided into two regiments, one of which was commanded by Colonel George Washington and the other by Colonel William Byrd. The latter belonged to a distinguished colonial family whose seat was at Westover, on the James River. The two Virginia regiments formed a brigade, and were under the general command of Washington; who, while he had all the duties of a brigadier to perform, and the responsibilities to bear, enjoyed neither the honor nor the emoluments that attached to the office. The Virginians were concentrated at Will's Creek, to await the approach of the main division, which was to march from Philadelphia under command of Forbes. The latter set out early in July 1758; but so painfully slow was his progress that he did not reach Raystown (now Bedford) in Pennsylvania until September. Forbes' health was in such a precarious condition that he had to be carried in a litter; and this, together with his natural disposition to insist that everything should be done according to the strictest rules of discipline, made

1758

Forbes' army

The Virginians

Forbes' slow movements

the progress of the army so slow as to exhaust the patience of the provincials.

1757

Washington anxious for haste

Washington's force marched northward from Will's Creek and joined the main army at Bedford. Here he urged General Forbes to save time by abandoning his course and following the old Braddock road. It was well known that the French had but a small force at Duquesne, and Washington's plan was to push forward with a small detachment and capture the place by surprise. He pointed out the disasters which had befallen the previous expedition in consequence of its delays, and warned his superior officer against the danger of pursuing a similar course. To Washington it seemed like criminal folly to waste time in making a grand display, in an effort to capture a fort that was ready to fall of its own accord, and thus give the enemy an opportunity to concentrate its forces and possibly repeat the history of the past. It was decided, however, on the advice of Colonel Henry Bouquet, a native of Switzerland serving in the British army,—an able man, but all foreign soldiers were invariably assumed to have much better military judgment than any provincials,—to cut a new road further to the northward; and Washington, much to his chagrin, was sent forward with a small detachment to do the work. Like a true soldier, he obeyed orders; but did not neglect to enter a vigorous protest against such a course.

Bouquet has a new road cut

In the mean time, while Washington and his men were cutting down the trees, filling up the ravines, bridging the mountain brooks, and thus smoothing the way for the leisurely progress of the army under Forbes, Colonel Bouquet was given a special opportunity to distinguish himself. With a detachment of 2000 men, embracing the 1200 Highlanders, he was sent forward to a place called Loyal Hanna, now Ligonier, in Pennsylvania. This station was on almost a direct line from Raystown to Fort Duquesne, and nearly half-way between the two places. It is impossible to understand the object of such a movement, unless it was undertaken with a belief that Washington's information regarding the smallness of the garrison at Duquesne was correct, and the British officers desired to capture the fort with the regulars alone, and thus take the sting out of the colonials' reproach and boast in the Braddock affair. The events that quickly followed sustain this view of the matter.

1758

Bouquet to steal a march on provincials

Bouquet met with little or no opposition at Loyal Hanna; and after occupying the place, he threw up intrenchments, and sent forward a detachment of 800 men under Major James Grant, for the ostensible purpose of making a reconnoissance. Grant served later under Lord Howe in the Jerseys. He was also present at the battle of Long Island, and commanded divisions of the British army at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Grant's detachment consisted almost entirely of the Highlanders, regarded as the most effective force in Forbes' command. He at once demonstrated his purpose by marching rapidly

Sends Grant to win glory

through the woods until he reached the immediate vicinity of Fort Duquesne. Here, on a hill overlooking the fortifications, and still known as Grant's Hill, he disposed of his troops with a view to drawing the French into an ambuscade. He hoped to pay them back in their own coin and reverse the conditions of Braddock's defeat.

1758

Grant tries to ambuscade French

But Grant had been in such haste to win a victory that he had not taken the time or trouble to investigate the environments. He was not aware of the fact that the French had just received a large reinforcement from the Illinois country, consisting of veteran Indian-fighters commanded by the gallant Captain D'Aubrey, a knight of St. Louis and capable of measuring swords with any commander in the field; nor had he the least suspicion that he was in the presence of an overwhelming force. He concealed the larger part of his men in the woods; and at break of day on the morning of September 14, he led the others forward with drum-beat and blare of fife to the brow of the hill, in plain view of the occupants of the fort. He supposed that on the appearance of his small force they would rush upon him, when it was his expectation to sound the retreat and draw them within the meshes of his carefully prepared ambuscade.

Reckons without his host

Ostentatious ruse

But he allowed himself to be outwitted at his own game. The enemy had observed his movements, and understood his purpose; and they dashed upon him so suddenly and in such overwhelming numbers that both of his detachments

Hoist with his own petard

were surrounded and crushed before he had time to bring them together. Nearly one-half of his men were killed or captured, Major Grant and nineteen of his officers being among the latter. The rest were saved by flight, and the bravery of a little band of Virginians under Captain Bullit. These men had been assigned to the unenviable position of rear-guard. When they saw the result of the battle, and beheld the confused mass of defeated soldiers flying toward them, they deployed into the woods, and stationing themselves behind trees and logs, checked the onward rush of the French and Indians until the Highlanders had reached a place of safety. The latter, however, had the "Indian panic" on them, and never halted in their flight until they gained the cover of the fortifications at Loyal Hanna.

Provincials again save British regulars

Who fly in panic

Out of the force of 800 men that Major Grant had led into this unfortunate affair, 278 were killed and 42 wounded, besides a number who were captured. The prisoners were sent to Canada, but soon afterwards exchanged. Among them was Major Andrew Lewis, a provincial officer who had been with Washington in the battle of Fort Necessity, and later in Braddock's defeat; and he was greatly esteemed by his commander for his courage and skill. Lewis subsequently commanded the colonial forces in the battle of Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha, where he gained a brilliant victory over the Shawnees under their celebrated chief Cornstalk. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he received a commission

Andrew Lewis

1758

as brigadier-general, and served with distinction during the first part of the conflict; but was soon compelled to retire from active service on account of ill health. He possessed a strong physique and a commanding presence—distinguishing qualities, which, combined with the reputation he had gained in his several victories over the Indians, caused them to refer to him as "one who made the earth tremble when he walked."

French and Indians follow up victory

The French and Indians, inspired by their easy victory, decided to attack Colonel Bouquet's detachment at Loyal Hanna, before the main body could come to its support; so they sent forward a detachment of 1200 French and 200 Indians, who made a furious onslaught on Bouquet's camp on October 12. But they were disappointed in their expectations. The English were strongly fortified and well supplied with cannon and small-arms, and the enemy met with a disheartening repulse. In a battle of four hours' duration they lost sixty-seven men in killed and wounded, and the remainder retreated to Fort Duquesne. But the incident meant more to the cause of the French in the west than mere defeat in a single battle. It led to dissatisfaction and lukewarmness on the part of their Indian allies,—impatient and unstable as children, which they were,—who deserted in large numbers under the plea of going on their annual hunt to provide winter food for their women and children. Their real purpose was to break with the French and prepare for a reconciliation with the English. The Indians in that part of the country were of

With ruinous effect to themselves

little further service to the French during the remainder of the Seven Years' War; but they broke out afresh under Pontiac after the surrender of Canada, when they were fighting not for the French power as such, but for the privilege of still having French masters if they were to have white masters at all. The French did not hold aloof or take their land like the English.

1758

Forbes did not reach Loyal Hanna until the 5th of November, having consumed fifty days in marching fifty miles. Nearly five months had elapsed since the army had broken camp at Philadelphia. The winter season was now at hand, and a council of war decided to proceed no further until the following spring. Five days after the arrival of the commanding general, Washington learned from some prisoners that the Indians had deserted, and the further fact that the French had reduced their force at the forks of the Ohio to less than five hundred men.

Forbes campaign to end in a failure

This was inspiring news to a born leader, and Washington begged the privilege of leading a detachment of his own men to capture the fort. "A long familiarity with these woods," he pleaded, modestly, "and with all the passes and difficulties, ought to favor me in preference to any one else." His prayer was heeded. A detachment of 2500 men, composed principally of the provincials and Highlanders, was selected, and the command of the advance brigade given to Washington. All unnecessary baggage was left behind; the men went forward cheerfully, carrying nothing but their

Washington asks to assail Duquesne

Granted at last

arms and ammunition and each a blanket and a knapsack.

1758

By the 17th an advanced detachment of 1000 men under Colonel John Armstrong had reached a point within seventeen miles of Fort Duquesne, where they made intrenchments and awaited the approach of their companions. Washington soon came up with the remainder of the provincials; and on the 19th, leaving Armstrong to await the arrival of the Highlanders, who were advancing leisurely, he pushed ahead to accomplish the grand object of the campaign. When within a day's march of the fort his command was discovered by the enemy's scouts, whose fears caused them to greatly magnify the number of troops in making their report. The French became panic-stricken, set fire to the fort that night, and escaped down the Ohio in their boats by the light of the burning buildings. On the following day, November 25, 1758, formal possession was taken of the charred and blackened ruins.

Advance on Fort Duquesne

Washington hurries ahead

French abandon it

General Forbes, with the main body of the army, arrived at Fort Duquesne on the same day of its occupation by Washington and the provincials; he having marched by way of Braddock's field, where the bones of the slaughtered British soldiers were still bleaching beneath the winter sun. As he beheld the red cross of St. George floating over the works, the General saluted, and proclaimed that the place should thereafter be known as Fort Pitt, in honor of England's prime minister; and afterward, when a settlement arose

Forbes renames it Fort Pitt

1758

on that spot, it was called Pittsburg, now a great city approaching with its environs half a million of people,—the most enduring and appropriate monument that America could build in perpetuation of the memory of England's greatest statesman, who had made possible the extension of Anglo-Saxon industry and freedom over the best of the globe.

Thanksgiving for Fort Duquesne

The 26th of November was observed by the army as a day of thanksgiving. On this occasion General Forbes wrote the following prophecy, which has been amply verified: "These dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile [lands] of any possessed by the British in North America." On the 28th, two days after the thanksgiving, a large detachment of soldiers was assigned to the duty of visiting Braddock's battlefield and burying the bones of those who had fallen in that engagement. These mournful duties having been disposed of, and the buildings and walls of the fort restored and strengthened, the main portion of the army returned eastward. Two regiments, however, composed of Virginians, Marylanders, and Pennsylvanians, were left as a garrison, under command of Hugh Mercer, who subsequently fell at Trenton.

Funeral honors to Braddock's slain

As for Washington, weary of the strife with which he had been familiar so many years of his youth, and now happily married to the woman of his choice, he retired to his estate at Mount Vernon; and for the next seventeen years lived the uneventful life of a Virginia planter.

Washington retires

1758

James Wolfe

As a subordinate in the army of General Amherst, there came a youthful brigadier-general, then but little known to fame, but who was destined to win a more enduring one than any other officer connected with the Seven Years' War, excepting Washington. This youthful brigadier was James Wolfe, then in his thirty-first year. But he had already manifested genius of a high order, and Pitt had wisely marked him for advancement. A more all-round Briton by blood there could hardly be: on his father's side, of a Welsh stock long enough resident in southern Ireland, and presumably with Irish Celtic intermarriage, so that his great-grandfather was one of the defenders of Limerick against Cromwell's forces; his mother was a Yorkshire Saxon; his father certainly and grandfather probably had settled in Kent, and what Scotch or Norman-French strains had made their way in we cannot know. And he was every inch a hero. Entering the army at a very early age, he served when only sixteen as adjutant of his father's regiment in the campaign of Dettingen, and there gained a reputation which soon afterward led to his promotion.

His next important service was as major and deputy quartermaster-general in a division commanded by his father in the Scottish rebellion of 1745. It was during this campaign that he became familiar with the splendid fighting qualities of the Scotch Highlanders, and at his suggestion Pitt authorized the enlistment of two regiments of that people for special service in America. These

1758

Wolfe and his Highlanders

regiments were attached to Wolfe's brigade, and proved their mettle in every engagement in which they participated. The young commander had no high opinion of the English regulars, whom he accused, in a letter written to his father soon after the defeat of Braddock, of cowardice and treachery;[1] but he felt that he could depend upon the Highlanders, and in them he put his trust whenever anything of importance was to be achieved. On coming to America, Wolfe was placed in command of one of the divisions of Amherst's army, and was accorded the position of honor in the attack on Louisbourg.

Plans of campaign

The plan for the campaign of 1758 did not differ materially from the plans of campaigns which had preceded it, except that the true principle of closing the St. Lawrence to the reception of French supplies and reinforcements was now for the first time adopted. With this object in view, the army of General Amherst was expected to capture Louisbourg, and then, in conjunction with the fleet, control the Gulf of St. Lawrence and close the mouth of the river. This would shut 1758 the French up in Canada, without hope of relief from the mother country, unless she chose to send an army and a fleet strong enough to beat the English. This was not regarded as probable, or even possible. General Forbes' expedition against Duquesne and the Ohio Valley was the second movement of the campaign, and that has already been noted. The third expedition, under General Abercrombie, was to move against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and having reduced those places, act in concert with General Amherst, by proceeding down the St. Lawrence and helping to crush the French forces between the two English armies. The first of these undertakings succeeded in a manner truly splendid, owing mainly to the genius of Wolfe; the second achieved its purpose after long delays and many disappointments, its final success being due to the superior judgment and determination of Washington; but the third, under Abercrombie, met with heart-sickening disaster. Abercrombie was one more incompetent. His failure practically annulled the immediate advantages gained by the armies of the east and the west; and this campaign, like its forerunners, closed in gloom for the English people.

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[1] It must be remembered that as enlistment in the British army was for life, the privates were recruited mainly from the most worthless characters in town or country: few but the desperate, the shiftless, the rattle-brained, or the drunken (often made so by press-gang agents and led to sign articles before sobering off) would consign their lives forever to a round of such monotonous and squalid hardship, drudgery, and peril. The Duke of Wellington said his armies in the Peninsular War were composed of "the scum of the earth." (Of course the officers, whose positions were perquisites of the nobility and gentry, were of a totally different stripe.) Yet it was with this "scum" that England conquered the leading place on the earth, and they often did the deeds of heroes: they beat Napoleon by sheer obstinate valor and self-sacrifice, and they won India with Clive and Coote. There must have been fine qualities even in this "submerged tenth."

The three campaigns of 1758

Two successes neutralized by a failure

The French, of course, were well aware of the plans formulating for their destruction; and while the home government did practically nothing for the relief of its American colonies, Montcalm was aroused to the utmost of his activities by the dangers that threatened him. In view of his limited

Colonial France rests on Montcalm

resources, and the magnitude of the difficulties surrounding him, he accomplished wonders, and displayed a generalship of the highest brilliancy. In each section of his territory he succeeded in mustering a force equal in numbers to that of the English, but deficient in capacity by reason of the famine throughout New France. The English fleets had cut off all supplies from over the water, while for two years past the Canadians had been so fully occupied with military affairs that they could neither plant nor gather their crops. Nearly every able-bodied man in the provinces had been constantly in service,—the results of French paternalism were now showing themselves in the sparse population,—and what little had been done in the way of farming and the raising of food was accomplished by the women and children. So great was the scarcity of provision that the entire civil population, as well as the army, had been put on short allowance.

1758

Montcalm's resourcefulness

War brings famine on colonial France

As the season of 1758 progressed, the situation grew worse. At length a point was reached where the soldiers could be allowed but half a pound of bread per day, while the inhabitants of Quebec were reduced to two ounces. So many domestic animals had perished for want of forage that meat became as scarce as bread, and actual starvation seemed to stare the population in the face. The soldiers staggered from weakness as they went about their daily duties; they were in no condition to meet and contend against the well-fed troops that England had brought into the field. An army

Civilians and soldiers weak with hunger

can no more fight without food than without powder and shot; and realizing this important truth, Montcalm planned his campaign under a sense of keen despondency. "For all our success," he wrote home to his government, "New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies." But instead of sinking beneath the weight of his responsibilities, he nerved himself to meet them; and during the last years of his life he nearly wrought miracles.

1758

Montcalm sees inevitable end

The Indians, on the other hand, were not affected by the famine, because their war operations were the primary basis of their domestic arrangements. However active their warriors might be in the field, the women and children planted and gathered the corn and the beans as usual; and the forest yielded its supplies of venison, bear-meat, and wild turkeys. Thus, while the French suffered the horrors of famine, their red allies were well-fed and active, and faithfully performed the essential service of scouts. Without their aid in this campaign, Montcalm would have been at a complete loss for information regarding the movements of the English; but the eager ferocity of the savages, and their burning desire for vengeance and scalps, kept them constantly in the field, and enabled them to notify the French commander promptly of everything that took place in the camp of his enemies. One of the most important actions of these savages took place in 1758, when they waylaid a detachment of New England

Indians well-fed and invaluable

rangers in the woods near Ticonderoga, and killed and scalped one hundred and forty-six of them. Three were reserved for torture.

1758

The British fleet, bearing the troops for the reduction of Louisbourg, left Halifax on the 28th of May. It consisted of about forty armed vessels, carrying between twelve and fourteen thousand men, a majority of whom were regulars. Thirteen years previously the same enterprise had been undertaken and successfully accomplished by four thousand New England militia; but after the restoration of the place to France, the fortifications had been strengthened, and the garrison now consisted of fifty-six hundred men. The harbor was also protected by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which had been sunk across the mouth of the harbor to prevent the entrance of hostile vessels.

Second Louisbourg expedition vs. first

Louisbourg much stronger

Contrary winds and a heavy sea retarded the progress of the English fleet, so that it did not reach its destination until the 7th of June. At break of day the next morning the troops began their landing at Gabarus Bay, where the New-Englanders had landed on the former occasion. Here the French, in anticipation of an effort at that point, had established several batteries, protected by breastworks and a tangled mass of trees, with their sharpened limbs pointing outward. It was an ugly and dangerous position to be carried by men armed only with muskets and bayonets, but the British troops proved themselves equal to the task. The first division, consisting of the

Troops land at old place

1758

Wolfe leads assault on Louisbourg batteries

Montgomery

Highlanders and some light infantry, was led by the gallant Wolfe, who gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired until he gave the word. His plan was to carry the works by storm; firing only once, at short range, and then using the bayonet. In one of the companies of Highlanders was a young lieutenant named Richard Montgomery, then only twenty-one, who so covered himself with glory as to win special mention in his commander's official report. He, like that commander, was destined to fall before the walls of Quebec, but many years later and fighting against his earlier service.

Wolfe effects landing

Captures batteries

As the first boats left the ships, the batteries opened upon them, but the shot went wild and did very little execution. The young leader, wholly unarmed, with nothing but a cane in his hand, occupied the leading boat. His remarkable coolness inspired the courage of his men, who followed him with cheers. A heavy surf roared against the beach; the waves ran so high that several of the boats were swamped and some of the men were drowned; but this did not destroy the enthusiasm of the survivors. As the keel of the commander's boat grated against the sand, still some distance from the beach, he leaped into the water, and shouting to his men to follow, led the way to the shore. Here the regiments were quickly formed; then the order to charge was given, and the batteries were carried with a rush. A successful landing had now been effected in a most gallant manner; but the heavy work of the siege was yet to begin. As soon as possible the artillery was brought from the ships and placed in position, and a heavy fire opened on the French works as well as on the town.

1758

It was determined also to seize Light-House Point, at the northeast side of the entrance to the harbor, whence the ships and the principal works of the enemy could be battered by the English cannon. This dangerous enterprise was again intrusted to Wolfe and his Highlanders, supported by the same companies of light infantry that had participated in the landing. The bold and successful tactics of that occasion were repeated on the present one. The early morning of the 12th of June was chosen as the most fitting time; and so audacious and unexpected was the movement that the French were taken completely by surprise. Again Wolfe led his men, and the Highlanders followed their leader into and over the works, accomplishing their purpose before the amazed Frenchmen became aware that anything of importance was going on. Several smaller fortifications in that vicinity were captured at the same time, and the whole point was soon in the undisputed possession of the English.

Assault on post commanding Louisbourg

Wolfe storms it

Batteries were now established, and their fire directed against the ships and the walls of the French works. But the strength of the place, and the skill and courage with which it was defended, precluded the idea of an immediate surrender. For weeks the roar of the guns on both sides was incessant. The town was finally reduced to a heap

English batteries erected

of ruins by the concentrated fire of the British cannon; and on the 1st of July one of the ships caught fire from the explosion of a bomb and blew up. The flames soon spread to two others, which were also destroyed.

1758

Three French ships destroyed

Admiral Boscawen now resolved on the daring venture of attempting to cut the two remaining ships of the line out of the harbor; and in pursuance of this plan, six hundred men in open boats passed through the channel into the basin of the bay, on the night of July 25. Concealed by the darkness, they approached to within a few yards of the ships before they were discovered. Then the French opened upon them with a furious fire of cannon and musketry; but so sudden and of such unimagined audacity was the attack that the foe had been thrown completely off their guard, the fire was ineffectual, and almost in an instant's time the vessels were boarded and captured. One of them was towed safely out from under the fire of the French fortifications, the other grounded and was destroyed. Among the petty officers who took part in this brilliant achievement was the subsequently celebrated Captain James Cook, who, after winning fame as navigator and explorer, was murdered by savages on the island of Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean. Cook wrote home to a friend describing the capture of the French ships; and the attention of the admiralty being thus called to him, he was soon afterward promoted to the command of the frigate *Mercury,* and sent to co-operate with General Wolfe in the capture of Quebec, where

Two more boarded and taken

Captain Cook

he again distinguished himself in the most signal manner.

1758

This capture of the ships had such a dispiriting effect on the French that when morning came, and the commander Droucour observed that he no longer had a fleet, that the walls of the fortifications were breached in a number of places, and that forty of his cannon were no longer fit for service, he sent a flag of truce and asked for terms of capitulation. Amherst answered by saying that no terms except immediate surrender at discretion would be considered, and that he must have an immediate reply, as his forces were about to make a combined assault by land and water. Droucour declined the terms, which he denounced as harsh and ungenerous; but when he saw the English land and naval forces moving forward to the attack, he lowered his flag and submitted. As a result of the victory, the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward (the latter being then called St. John's) passed forever from under the dominion of France to that of England. The conquerors also secured two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition and military stores.

Commander of Louisbourg asks for terms

Surrenders at discretion

The English loss in killed and wounded during the siege was scarcely four hundred; that of the French exceeded fifteen hundred, while the town and the fortifications were so completely wrecked by the cannonading that they were never rebuilt. An insignificant fishing village now occupies the site made famous by two of the most

Louisbourg disappears from earth

illustrious sieges in the Western World; while the walls of a fortress that cost France more than thirty millions of dollars have been transformed into huts of a hamlet so inconsiderable as to be scarcely known except to the historian and the antiquary. The French garrison and naval forces were sent to England as prisoners of war, but the civilians of the town and island were transported to France in English ships.

1758

Extinction of Louisbourg

England's triumph on this occasion was one of the most complete ever achieved in America, and its results had much to do in stimulating the nation to further conquests. It afforded relief from a long series of disasters, and had the happy effect of strengthening Pitt's hands by giving his policy and personal action the popular halo of success. England, and London especially, were overjoyed by reason of the great victory, the first of the war. The captured French colors were carried in solemn procession from Kensington palace to St. Paul's Cathedral, while the admiral of the English fleet received a special vote of thanks from the House of Commons. On the side of the army, General Amherst, with rare generosity, gave most of the credit for the victory to General Wolfe, who thereupon became the nation's hero. Returning soon afterward to England, he was received everywhere with demonstrations of joy. But with all this adulation, he was not spoiled. To his country he gave the glory, and longed for still greater achievements. The opportunity soon came, for the following year Pitt gave Wolfe command of

Effect of Louisbourg victory

English rejoicing

the expedition against Quebec. Even in death he knew that he had won earthly immortality. 1758

While these glorious events were taking place in the northeast, very different results attended the movement against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Disaster, bitter and sweeping, attended Abercrombie's efforts.

During the spring of 1758, one of the largest and best appointed armies that had yet been seen in America was concentrated at Fort George. It consisted of 9024 provincials, from New York, New England, and New Jersey, and 6367 British regulars, a total of 15,391. In the way of cannon, arms, and military stores it had everything that could be desired. Nothing had been spared that might in any way contribute to the success of the expedition, for it was regarded as the crowning feature of the campaign. The best troops that the colonies had ever put into the field were included in this organization.

Abercrombie's army

Second in command of the British regulars was Viscount and Brigadier-General George Augustus Howe, a brother of Admiral Richard and General Sir William Howe, who afterward played important parts in our Revolutionary war. Howe was then in his thirty-fourth year; little older than Wolfe, and like him, possessing the true instincts of a soldier. Both were idolized by the men they commanded, winning their love and respect by a just consideration of whatever could be reasonably required, and by sharing their hardships and dangers on the march and in the field. Howe

George Howe

seems to have been a nobleman in the true meaning of the word. The numerous defeats which his country had now suffered during a series of years touched him profoundly, and he longed for an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace, even though it might be in his own blood. Disdaining the luxuries and extras to which British officers of that period accustomed themselves, he denied himself everything that was not absolutely necessary, and marched on foot with the men. By his example he inspired them with a determination to conquer.

1758

George Howe

Howe associated freely with the provincial officers, gaining from them much information regarding the country, its obstacles and advantages, the characteristics of the enemy they were about to engage; and in other ways qualifying himself for the campaign they were entering upon. General Stark often related an incident that occurred the evening before the attack on Ticonderoga, in which Howe lost his life. The day had been warm and sultry, and the soldiers were weary from the extra demands made upon their strength. As soon as the camp was formed, Stark, who was then only a captain of the rangers, received an invitation to sup with the general. He found him stretched at length on a bear-skin rug, spread on the floor of his tent, studying a map of the country and the location of the enemy's works. For an hour or more he questioned the young American closely respecting the fortress of Ticonderoga, its outposts and approaches, and the character of the country immediately surrounding it. Stark, who

Careful study of topography, etc.

Questions Stark

was familiar with all these matters, imparted to his commander such information as he possessed, enabling him to comprehend the situation and plan the movements necessary to insure victory. Had Howe lived, it is almost beyond question that a splendid victory would have attended the British flag instead of cruel and crushing defeat. Stark observed that he seemed oppressed, as if burdened with a presentiment of approaching evil; and after the disastrous events of the succeeding day, the incidents of the evening left an impression on his mind which he never forgot.

Howe's presentiments

Abercrombie's army had been quartered for some time at Fort George, when, early in the morning of Saturday, July 5, the soldiers were summoned from their quarters, and marched to the margin of the lake; there they embarked on a fleet of 900 bateaus and 135 whale-boats, the guns being mounted on rafts prepared for the purpose. On the evening of the same day the fleet landed at a projecting point on the west side of the lake, just beyond the beginning of the "narrows," and near the eminence still known as Buck Mountain and Rattlesnake Dens. Here the men spread themselves out over the cape for a few hours' rest, and it was during this time that General Howe had his memorable interview with Stark. Between midnight and daybreak the troops were again summoned on board the boats; this time in complete silence, for it was the purpose of the commander to take the French by surprise. All the show and sound of the preceding day were

Abercrombie begins movement

Silent embarkation

hushed. It was the morning of the Sabbath, and thence Abercrombie bestowed the appellation (still borne) of Sabbath Day Point upon the promontory where they had rested.

1758

Howe, in one of the largest boats, accompanied by a guard of rangers, led the van of the fleet; the regular troops following in the centre, while the provincials formed the two wings. In spite of the silence and gloom of the night, the fleet presented a scene of considerable animation. "The order of march," said Major Rogers of the rangers, "exhibited a splendid military show." At dawn of day the fleet was abreast of Blue Mountain, about four miles from the appointed landing-place. Here Montcalm had established a picket of three men, to give instant warning should an enemy come from the south. The first intimation these pickets had of the presence of the English was the glitter of their arms and uniforms toward the shore. The surprise was complete. The French soldiers fled precipitately, giving the alarm by firing their muskets as they ran. By nine o'clock the army had disembarked, at the head of a little cove on the west side of the lake; and without delay began its advance on the fortifications.

Movement on Ticonderoga by water

French pickets driven in

Ticonderoga derives its name from an Iroquois word, *Cheonderoga,* meaning "Noisy Water." Here, in a distance of less than four miles, the channel descends nearly one hundred and sixty feet, tumbling over two considerable falls in its course; and those who have heard the roaring of the rapids, or the sounds of the rapidly flowing

Ticonderoga

water beyond them, will appreciate the significance of the name. When the French fortified the point in 1755 they called the works Fort Carillon ("Chime").

1758

Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga

Outer breastworks

Natural obstructions

Fort Carillon stood on a peninsula between Lake Champlain and the channel leading from Lake George, occupying a height that overlooked the former at an elevation of nearly two hundred feet. The peninsula was surrounded on three sides by water, and embraced an area of about five hundred acres. It was a place of great natural strength, and had been vastly improved by the science of the French engineers. To the northward a piece of swampy ground shut off access from that direction; but with the keen insight of a soldier, Montcalm had added to the difficulties of this natural obstruction by erecting a breastwork between it and the fort, about a mile from the latter. Some remains of these intrenchments are still to be seen. The only open approach to the fortress was through a comparatively narrow way from the northwest; and here the French commander had erected his most formidable outworks, consisting of a breastwork nine feet in height, supported in front by an abatis and tangled heaps of stumps, with their projecting and sharpened roots pointing outward and upward. The entire peninsula, up to within a short distance of the works, was so thickly wooded as to render it almost impossible to bring cannon into position without first cutting and leveling roads; and the English commander, having learned that the

French expected reinforcements, did not feel justified in losing the time that this would require. 1758

The French force consisted of 2800 regulars and 450 Canadians; but on the evening of the 6th —the day of the first battle—a detachment of 400 picked men under Monsieur de Levis returned from an expedition into the Mohawk country, which brought their total strength up to 3650. Levis' detachment was the reinforcement which Abercrombie had known was coming to the French, but which had been erroneously reported to him as three thousand strong. To the inferior force of the garrison was opposed the splendid English army of fifteen thousand well-appointed and well-fed soldiers, better qualified in every way for the impending struggle than their opponents. With anything like average generalship, the French ought to have been overwhelmed by mere weight of numbers.

French and English strength at Ticonderoga

A little before noon of the 6th, the whole English force moved forward in three columns; General Howe, by his special request, leading the advance. The rangers, under Rogers, Putnam, and Stark, spread out through the woods ahead of the moving columns, and thus prevented a surprise by the enemy. Howe, eager to take part in the first encounter, came up by the side of Putnam and declared his intention to accompany him and the rangers; but the gallant provincial remonstrated. "My Lord," said he, "if I am killed, my loss will be of little consequence; but the preservation of your life is of infinite importance to this army."

Howe leads the van

Putnam remonstrates

1758

To this remonstrance Howe replied, "Major Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me; and I am resolved to go." Seeing that he was fully determined, Putnam made no further objection; and together they pushed ahead into the forest, at the head of a small detachment of rangers. They were soon some distance in advance and out of sight of the army, which, led by inexperienced guides and encountering the obstacles of thick woods and uneven ground, had fallen into confusion. The columns were broken and the regiments intermingled, until the whole organization became a jumbled mass of bewildered men.

Howe and Putnam push ahead

Meanwhile, Howe and Putnam with the rangers had penetrated some two miles into the forest, when they came suddenly upon a party of about three hundred French and Indians, who had lost their way while on picket duty, and were now endeavoring to return to the fort. The surprise was mutual; both parties fired about the same time, and several fell on each side. Among others struck down at the first volley was the gallant Howe. The consternation produced by this unhappy event caused a brief panic among the rangers: but the commands of their officers soon restored order; and according to their custom, they sprang behind trees and held their ground until one of the flanking parties of provincials came up, when the enemy was utterly routed. A number were driven into the water and drowned; 159 surrendered as prisoners of war. The whole party was dispersed, killed, or captured, so that

Unexpected rencontre

Howe's fall

French beaten

the encouragement of the first victory was with
1758 the English.

But Abercrombie was so disheartened over the death of Howe that he withdrew the same night to the landing-place, and encamped there. The next morning he sent forward Colonel Bradstreet of the New York provincials, with a reconnoitring party, to repair a couple of bridges that the French had destroyed, and with instructions to occupy and hold a position as far in advance as might be prudent. The mission was accomplished in a splendid and dashing manner. Bradstreet was an officer of ability like that of Howe; resolute, daring, and efficient. He soon repaired the bridges, and then, advancing to a position within two miles of the fortifications, encamped there for the night.

Abercrombie feeling his way

While these measures were in progress on the part of the English, Montcalm had concentrated all his forces within the walls of the fortress, where every man was set to work strengthening the approaches. Montcalm himself threw off his coat and joined the soldiers in their labors. An abatis already encircled the walls facing the open way, but this was enlarged and extended. Trees were cut down and left lying so that their tops pointed outward, the trunks and branches overlapping and crossing until a perfect maze of interlaced timber and sharpened limbs pointed toward the English. So complicated and interwoven was this mass of wood, that it seemed as if a squirrel could scarcely pass through it; but it was made

Montcalm builds formidable abatis

still more impenetrable by piles of stumps being thrown in all the less intricate places with their branching roots upward. 1758

No army ever contrived obstructions more difficult to breach; but on the morning of the 8th, when Abercrombie sent his engineers—used to regularly shaped and curved and sloped structures of stone and earth, and like Braddock and his kind, thinking anything unsymmetrical of no value—to reconnoitre the French position, they reported the works as flimsy and unimportant. Stark and also some of the more experienced English officers expressed a very different opinion, and advised caution. But Abercrombie, still under the impression that Levis was approaching with a large reinforcement, and believing Montcalm's army to be twice as large as it really was, felt that his only chance of success, or even of safety, lay in immediate action. He therefore ordered an assault in force without delay. It has a spirited sound; but in fact it was the spirit of panic, precisely like that of his panic flight immediately after, and of which his gross overestimate of the French numbers was a manifestation. As there was no time or opportunity to bring up the artillery, the infantry only were sent forward, and instructed to charge with their bayonets as soon as they came within reach of the works.

Regular engineers despise irregular works

Abercrombie overrates French strength

Scared into trying an assault

A scene similar to that witnessed afterward at Bunker Hill was now enacted. The army was drawn up in three columns; the first composed of the boatmen and irregulars, the second of the provincials with spaces between their battalions, the regulars constituting the third line. A rear-guard was formed of the Connecticut and New Jersey provincials. At the sound of the bugles the whole army advanced to the charge, the regulars passing through the open spaces in the lines of the provincials and taking the lead. The colonial troops, realizing better than the regulars the strength of the French position, manifested no eagerness to press forward into what seemed to them almost certain death. They were even accused by some of the regulars of firing wildly and at random, and of hurting their friends more than their enemy; but this charge is not supported by satisfactory evidence, neither does it comport with the character of these troops, who had proved themselves on various occasions to be steadier under fire than the British regulars, and again and again saved them in their rout and flight.

1758

Advance against Ticonderoga works

Colonials realize its folly

Montcalm had given positive orders that no shot should be fired on his side until he gave the command, and his injunction was strictly obeyed. An ominous silence pervaded the French ranks, until the British regulars had reached the obstructions; and then, while their columns were broken and confused in their efforts to clamber through the maze of timber, the signal was given, and a deadly fire of musketry and grape-shot was poured into their midst, at a range so close that nearly every missile took effect. It was a withering and desolating discharge. The French columns alternated with each other, firing and falling back to

Fearful slaughter of English

1758

English in the jaws of death

Invincible French works

reload, so that the repeating volleys sounded almost like a continuous crash. The fire being delivered in the very faces of the British, the slaughter was frightful. No troops could endure such punishment; they fell back in confusion. But their British officers quickly rallied them, and they came again to the charge with that grim determination so characteristic of British soldiers,—even the rabble was a rabble with heroic blood,—only to meet the same impossible conditions which they had previously encountered. On the right of the British line the grenadiers and the Highlanders pressed onward over all obstacles until they reached the breastworks; and some of them even clambered on top of these, where they were bayoneted or shot. Failing on the right, an effort was made on the left, and the works would have been carried there, but at the critical moment Montcalm hurried reinforcements into the breach and the English line was driven back.

Fruitless heroism

Assaults followed each other in quick succession along the whole line of the English front, but met everywhere with deadly repulse. The men, however, would not be discouraged. They fought with a resolution that was sublime. With their broadswords they attempted to cut their way through the abatis, and many were shot while engaged in this work. Any commander might have been proud of such troops; but Abercrombie remained throughout the battle at a sawmill two miles in the rear, out of sight of the army and almost beyond the sound of the guns. He sent

1758

Bloody English repulse at Ticonderoga

no orders, and gave no encouragement to the soldiers, either by message or his presence. While the English were being slaughtered in heaps, the French, protected by their fortifications, escaped with but few casualties. At length, after hours of this desperate but hopeless fighting, just as the shades of night were falling, the English suddenly withdrew out of range, and could not again be rallied. The battle was over, with a loss of 1967 in killed and wounded. The Highlanders suffered more than any of the other regiments, losing one-half of their men and twenty-five officers—an eloquent tribute to their devoted courage.

Result of bad judgment

Abercrombie's cowardice

Abercrombie still had more than thirteen thousand effective troops, nearly four to one of the enemy, and his cannon had not even been moved away from the landing-place. But he was panic-stricken. Montcalm declared that had the conditions been reversed, he would have asked for nothing more than half a dozen mortars and two cannon. With these he would have torn breaches through the abatis and the breastworks, and made openings for his advancing columns. Abercrombie had a fine train of artillery, much more powerful than the pieces suggested by his opponent; but he had neither the courage nor the judgment to use them. On the contrary, he sounded the retreat, and with an army of thirteen thousand fled before the face of less than four thousand.

As soon as the retreat began, a wild panic ensued, the reaction of such fatal daring: men who had fought all day like heroes grew hysterical with fright. On reaching the landing, they would have rushed into the boats like a drove of stampeded cattle, had not Colonel Bradstreet restrained them and restored some semblance of order, with the aid of a small detachment of provincials who retained their senses. Montcalm did not pursue, because he was not aware of the condition of the English army. He expected another attack in the morning; and his weary soldiers, instead of being permitted to rest, were kept busily at work all night on the fortifications. At daylight the British commander re-embarked his entire force, and as quickly as possible placed the length of the lake between himself and the enemy. Soon afterward he sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany for safe-keeping, and held himself in readiness to abandon Fort George at the first warning.

Panic and flight from Ticonderoga

Abercrombie shares the fright

The news of the disgraceful affair was a terrible blow to Pitt. He had been deceived in Abercrombie, the second cowardly and imbecile Scotch general who had belied the just repute of its private soldiery within two years, and felt that it would no longer be safe to depend upon his own judgment in selecting commanders for the armies. Yet he still had faith in the gallant young hero Wolfe, and he decided to trust him with the next important movement. But Bute thought "Abercrombie and his troops had done their duty," and pointed to their heavy losses as proof of their intrepidity. This was well enough in its application to the troops, for a braver army never went into action; but it lacked a leader. The general, of

Upheld at court

course a favorite at court,—that was what had so long won positions military or civil,—was referred to as "the broken-hearted commander," a hero crushed by adverse fate which he had not earned.

1758

Montcalm again overcredits English generals

While Abercrombie lay trembling at Fort George, Montcalm was active and aggressive. His scouting parties roamed the country, cutting off stragglers and seeking information. He took it for granted that a great army like that of the English would not be allowed to remain idle, and he employed the time in strengthening his own position and making efforts to divine the purposes of his enemy. But he had nothing to fear from Abercrombie, who had no purpose but to escape. That officer did not recover from his panic until he had placed the ocean between himself and the French. Meanwhile Rogers and Putnam, with their rangers, were kept busily engaged scouring the woods on their part for information regarding the enemy. This was the kind of service that pleased them best. The danger added zest to their enjoyment, and the wildwoods held a spell over their poetic fancy.

Abercrombie leaves the country

Rogers' and Putnam's rangers

A few weeks after the defeat at Ticonderoga, the rangers received orders to move northward to the vicinity of Fort Carillon, and report any important movements they might detect on the part of the French. They proceeded on their way over the peninsula between the southern point of Lake Champlain and Lake George, until they reached South Bay, where the two leaders divided their

1758

Rangers retire before French-Indian force

regiment and pursued separate routes, so as to cover a larger space. But soon ascertaining that they were in the presence of a strong detachment of French and Indians, under the famous partisan leader Molang, they reunited their forces and decided to return to Fort Edward, where the main army was then stationed. They camped the first night on the bank of Clear River, about a mile northwest of the future site of Fort Ann; and Molang and his party also went into camp near the same place, neither being aware of the other's presence. A distance of not more than a mile separated the two encampments. Next morning, while the rangers were preparing to break camp, Major Rogers and an English officer who had accompanied him in quest of adventure amused themselves by firing their muskets at a mark. The act was utter folly, and contrary not only to all rules of warfare among these forest scouts themselves, but to the plain dictates of common-sense among any small military parties in these regions of perpetual ambush; but it showed the recklessness bred by habit and daring.

Foolish advertisement of whereabouts

Molang heard the sound of the guns; it was like music in his ears. The firing convinced him that the rangers were not on their guard; and knowing the route they must pursue to the fort, he laid a carefully planned ambuscade for them. A little after daylight the rangers set out on their march, but had not proceeded far, when, just as they emerged from a thicket into an open piece of woods, they were fired upon by the French and

French lay ambush

Indians who lay concealed only a few yards distant. A number were killed by the first discharge, and the whole command was thrown into confusion. Rogers himself was disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack; but Putnam, remembering that the first fire must always be succeeded by an interval of safety while the guns were reloaded, shouted to the men to conceal themselves and prepare for the battle. His orders were obeyed, and in a few minutes a desperate hand-to-hand combat took place. The rangers, however, had not fully recovered from their panic; and becoming separated into small squads, the enemy, who had the superiority in numbers, pressed them from all sides.

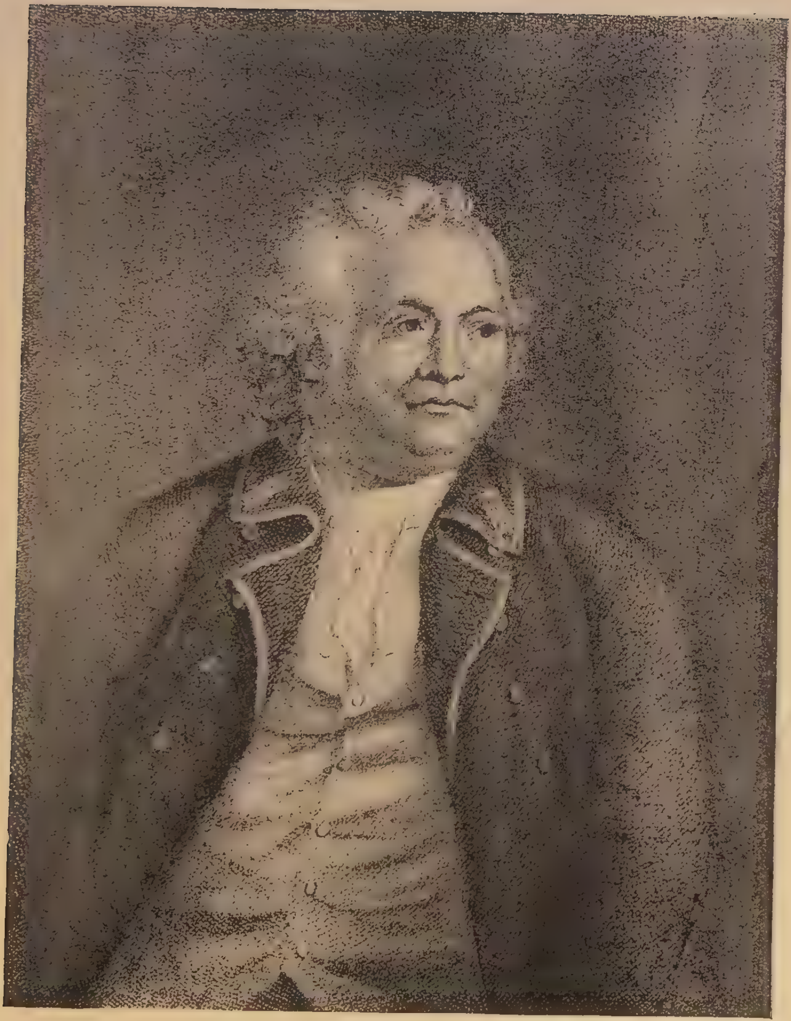
1758

Rangers cut up by ambush

For a few minutes the battle raged furiously between these partisans of the wildwoods, who neither asked nor gave quarter. In the midst of the fight, a gigantic savage, observing Major Putnam alone, rushed forward with the intention of securing him as a victim for the torture. The gallant ranger leveled his musket at the breast of the Indian, and pulled the trigger when he was only a few feet distant; but the weapon, instead of discharging its contents, "flashed in the pan." Thereupon the savage knocked the gun aside, and by his superior strength soon made a prisoner of his white antagonist; then, binding him firmly to a tree, he returned to the battle. By this time the position of the combatants had changed until the tree stood midway between them, so that Putnam was exposed to the hottest fire of both sides. So

Battle in the woods

Putnam captured by Indians



ISRAEL PUTNAM.

firmly was he bound that he could move neither hand nor foot, and for some minutes he was compelled to endure the ordeal of standing helplessly in the double line of fire. Fortunately none of the missiles touched his person, though his garments were cut in a number of places by the bullets.

1758

Putnam as a double target

In the ebb and flow of the battle, it so happened that at one time the Indians advanced until the prisoner was within their lines, when a young warrior amused himself by seeing how close he could throw his hatchet to Putnam's head without hitting him. When he grew tired of the sport, and moved on to the battle, a French soldier drew trigger at the prisoner's breast; but the weapon, as if more humane than its owner, missed fire. The brutal ruffian then struck Putnam in the face with the butt of his gun, leaving him insensible, and as he supposed, dying. But fate had marked him for great deeds in the future. Recovering from the effects of the blow, he was soon afterward unbound, and, stripped of his clothing and shoes, and his hands so tightly secured with thongs as to stop the circulation of the blood, he was forced in this painful condition to march with his captors through the woods. His hands soon became so swollen from the pressure of the cords about his wrists as to produce the most intense pain; but his appeals for relief fell on unsympathetic hearts. The savages enjoyed the torture they were inflicting on their prisoner, and laughed when he pleaded with them to either kill or release him.

As Indian sport

Frenchman more savage than Indians

Putnam led in torment toward worse

1758

In a few minutes, however, a French officer came up, and observing the prisoner's condition, cut the cords and set him free. About the same time he was claimed by his original captor, who had been separated from him in the excitement of the battle. The burly savage was greatly incensed at the manner in which his prisoner had been treated, not from any humane motive, but because it had been his intention to reserve him for the stake. He gave Putnam a pair of moccasins to cover his naked feet, which were lacerated by the stones and thorns over which he had been compelled to walk; and in this condition he was hurried on through the remainder of the day. At night he was taken to a secluded place in the woods, some distance from the French camp, and there tightly bound with green withes to a sapling. Dry wood was now heaped about him, while the savages chanted their death-song and danced in the gloom of the night like so many demons. Putnam had won a reputation among them as a noted warrior, and according to the customs of their race, they were now preparing to bestow upon him the highest honors that a distinguished enemy could expect. Meanwhile a dense thunder-cloud had been gathering overhead; and just as the flames were applied to the wood and were beginning to ascend about his person, a downpour of rain extinguished them.

Putnam better treated to save him for torture

Tied up to be burned alive

Rain puts out fire

Throughout the ordeal Putnam maintained an attitude of defiance, knowing that this would bring him a speedier release than if he should manifest

1758

Putnam at the stake

any unmanly weakness. He derided his captors, sneered at their efforts to torture him, and told them the Great Spirit had put the fire out because they were women and did not know how to torture a prisoner. The savages regarded the incident with superstitious awe, and Putnam began to hope that he might yet escape; but when the rain ceased their courage returned. The flames were rekindled, and soon blazed again with fierce intensity. But at the very moment when the torture was becoming unbearable, an officer in the full uniform of a French colonel dashed through the circle of yelling savages, and, throwing the blazing sticks aside, rescued the prisoner from his perilous position. Hearing of the orgy that was being enacted in the woods, he had barely time to rush from his tent and save the prisoner's life. Putnam was now taken in charge by the French, his burns and wounds were dressed, and such attentions bestowed upon him as humanity required. He was subsequently delivered to Montcalm at Ticonderoga, and sent by him to Montreal, where he was soon afterward exchanged.

Rescued by the French

Humanely treated and exchanged

Molang's humanity in this affair seemed all the more remarkable, since he and about five hundred of his men had been ambushed by Putnam and his rangers only a few days before, and a number of them killed. The scene of this adventure lies on the western shore of the narrow neck, or "tongue," of Lake Champlain, which extends some miles to the southward, as will be seen by reference to the maps. It was near South Bay;

His own previous ambush

and the cliff where the rangers were concealed is still known as "Putnam's Rock." Abercrombie had ordered Putnam to scout in that vicinity with fifty of his men, and report the movements of the enemy. On reaching the scene of his operations, the doughty ranger planned an adventure of his own, the result of which was more fruitful than he had expected. The lake at that point is very narrow, and is overlooked by a ledge of rocks rising perpendicularly out of the water. On the top of these rocks Putnam had his rangers construct a parapet of stones, which he concealed by planting a number of cedar-trees in front; and then patiently awaited developments on the part of the enemy. From his position he had an unobstructed view across the lake to the opposite shore, and for several miles north and south. Nothing could approach on the water without being observed, while the little garrison was completely hid by the parapet and the intervening cedars.

1758

Putnam plans ambush

Ledge overlooking Champlain

Within a day or two fifteen of the rangers, disabled by sickness, were sent back to Fort Edward, which reduced the force to thirty-five men. Four days passed without incident or adventure, and Putnam was beginning to fear that he might have to abandon his position without accomplishing anything worthy of note. But at the end of the fourth day, one of the scouts reported a large fleet of canoes on the lake to the north, moving southward. It proved to be a party of Molang's French and Indians, numbering about five hundred. By this time darkness was beginning to set

Enemy approach the trap

1758

in; but the full moon illuminated the lake so that every object was plainly visible on the surface of the water. Putnam now called in all his sentinels, and stationing the men in their places, gave strict orders that no gun should be fired and no sound uttered until he gave the word; then each man was to select an enemy as a target and fire at point-blank range. The rangers obeyed with alacrity; while the game approached, the hunters made ready. Each firelock was carefully examined, and fresh priming poured in; and then began the silent watch for the approaching fleet.

Putnam's men prime for enemy

The canoes came on in perfect order, and were plainly visible in the glimmer of the moonlight. No sound broke the stillness of the night except the measured splash of the paddles; for the Frenchmen and their savage companions knew they were in a region filled with danger. At any moment the crack of a rifle or the explosion of a musket might carry them into eternity. Every eye was strained, and every nerve drawn, in the effort to detect the slightest movement or catch the least sound that might indicate the presence of an enemy. The first canoes had passed the parapet, when one of the rangers, in making a movement to bring his gun into better position, clicked the lock against a stone. Slight as the noise was, it attracted the instant attention of Molang and his followers. In a moment every paddle rested, while the fleet, impelled by its momentum, assembled in a confused mass within a few feet of the parapet. They were so close that the men on

French vigilant

Take the alarm

1758

French take warning too late

the opposite sides could almost hear the breathing of their antagonists. A whispered consultation ensued among the leaders, whereupon the prows of the canoes were turned northward; but just as the paddles were dipping Putnam shouted "Fire!"

Great slaughter

Almost before the sound of his voice had rung out over the lake, the crack of thirty-five rifles resounded in a single volley. Each bullet, as it sped into the centre of the mass, found a victim. So close and crowded were the canoes that for a minute or two, the volleys being repeated in quick succession, the slaughter was dreadful. Molang, escaping unhurt, perceived by the sound of the firing that his assailants were much inferior in numbers to his own party, and he quickly planned a counter-movement. Ordering a detachment to land some distance below, he instructed them to march through the woods and come up in the rear of the rangers; but Putnam, observing the movement, sent twelve men under Lieutenant Durkie to oppose it. They easily succeeded in their purpose; for the enemy, fearful of another ambuscade, were cautious about attempting to force a landing. At daylight, however, a considerable party did get ashore some distance below; and on being informed of this, Putnam ordered a retreat to avoid being surrounded. By this time the ammunition of his men was exhausted, and their only safety lay in escaping through the meshes of the net that the enemy was drawing around them.

Counter-movement

Putnam's men escape

So far, not one of the rangers had fallen, though two were wounded; while Molang had lost nearly one-half of his command. The slaughter among his men, while they were massed under the parapet, had been frightful. As the rangers were hurrying through the forest on their way to Fort Edward, they were suddenly fired upon from an unexpected source, and one of the men was wounded. Putnam instantly gave the order to fire and charge, when the leader of the opposite party, recognizing his voice, cried out, "Hold! we are friends." "Friends or foes," shouted the indignant Putnam, "you deserve to perish for doing so little execution with so fair a shot." This new party proved to be a detachment that Abercrombie had sent out, on learning of the advance of Molang and his partisans, to cover Putnam's retreat; but the intended relief came very near being more hurtful to its friends than the bullets of the enemy.

1758

Putnam's men fired on by friends

The two men who were wounded at the ledge of rocks, the one an Indian and the other a ranger, had started on their way back to the fort during the night, under an escort of two other men. They were discovered by a party of savages and pursued; and seeing that they could not escape, the wounded men generously insisted upon their companions leaving them to their fate, which they did. When the savages came up, the white man, knowing he would be subjected to torture if captured, fired on the pursuers and killed three of them, when he was instantly tomahawked by the survivors. The Indian, however, was taken prisoner and carried to Canada, where Putnam met him

Incident of the warfare

soon afterward during a captivity of his own, and learned from him the particulars here related.

1758

Bradstreet plans reduction of Fort Frontenac

While these minor events were transpiring, Abercrombie's great army lay idle at Albany and the forts, the impatience of the officers and men increasing daily. Only a few enterprising spirits, like Putnam and Rogers, were able to accomplish anything; and their adventures were necessarily on so small a scale as to result in but little benefit to the general cause. At length, about the first of August, Colonel John Bradstreet succeeded, with much difficulty, in obtaining permission to lead a detachment against Fort Frontenac, on the present site of Kingston in Canada. Here the French kept their depot of supplies for their western and southwestern military and religious stations; and here they also maintained a fleet of considerable strength, with which they commanded the great lakes. It was then a very important place; and its capture would not only destroy the power of the French on the lakes, but disrupt their whole chain of communication between the northeast and southwest. We have already seen how it paralyzed Shirley's movements, and dominated the entire situation west of Lake Champlain.

Its importance

Stanwix and his fort

A considerable body of provincials, under Brigadier-General John Stanwix, a British officer of ability and distinction, had been assembled at the portage to Oneida Lake, where they were engaged in building a fort still famous, to which they gave the name of the commander. Hither Bradstreet came with an order from Abercrombie for a detachment of men for his expedition against Fort Frontenac. Stanwix furnished him about 2700 troops, all provincials and well seasoned in border warfare: 700 of these were men of Massachusetts; and more than 1100 were New-Yorkers, among the latter being George and James Clinton, afterward famous in our struggle for independence. From the Six Nations 150 warriors voluntarily joined Bradstreet's forces; and their number was soon increased to 250 through the influence and eloquence of the distinguished Onondaga chief Red Head, who had raised his voice in the grand council of his people in favor of the English.

1758

Bradstreet's army

But little time was lost in organizing the expedition, for the men composing it were prepared for any emergency that might arise. A rapid movement was made to the site formerly occupied by the town and fortifications of Oswego. Here a scene of ruin and desolation was presented. Scarcely a vestige of the old fortifications remained; and the only relic of the French occupation was a large wooden cross, the sign of dominion as well as an emblem of faith. Bradstreet rebuilt a portion of the works, and then embarking his army in open boats, crossed the lake to the Canada shore.

March to Oswego

He landed within a mile of Frontenac on the 25th of August, the whole expedition having been conducted with an enterprise and celerity that presaged victory. Bradstreet's train of artillery consisted of twelve cannon and three mortars,

Land near Frontinac

1758

Trivial garrison at Fort Frontenac

while the French had within the walls of the fort sixty fine brass pieces,—most of them relics of the unfortunate Braddock expedition,—besides vast quantities of small-arms and other munitions of war. But they had not dreamed that the English possessed audacity enough to attempt a reduction of the place,—or much of anything else, judging by the history of two years past,—and this vitally important post was consequently defended by only 110 regulars and a few Canadian Indians. The petty garrison was not numerous enough to handle the cannon they had at their disposal, so that the question of submission was merely a matter of a little time. Some portions of the fort had to be left undefended, for lack of men to occupy the works.

Surrenders without a storm

Bradstreet lost no time, but planting his guns and mortars so close to the walls that every shot and shell took effect, instantly opened the battle. In a little while great breaches had been made in the fortifications, and the way cleared for a successful assault. On the morning of the second day, the French commander, realizing that to hold out for a storm meant only profitless sacrifice of their lives, asked for terms of surrender. He was promptly informed that no conditions would be accepted except those of unqualified submission; and being powerless to continue the defense, he yielded without further parley. The victory was practically a bloodless one, and all the more creditable to the general by whom it had been gained, though fame is usually accorded otherwise.

The spoils of the victors consisted of sixty cannon, an immense quantity of small-arms, provisions, military stores, ammunition, and a large stock of general merchandise. They also captured nine armed vessels, each carrying from eight to eighteen guns. Two of the best of these were sent to Oswego, and the remainder destroyed; and then, after razing the fortifications and burning such of the stores as they could not carry away, the provincials returned to Fort Stanwix, well pleased with the result of their brilliant performance. Frontenac was never rebuilt; and French dominion in America had received a blow from which it did not recover. Louisbourg after all was a limb, important but not vital; the capture of Fort Frontenac was cutting a main artery.

1758

Fort Frontenac destroyed

Results

Thus closed the campaign of 1758. All its operations would have been creditable to the English, except for Abercrombie: his miserable and ignominious defeat before the brushwood walls of Fort Carillon, due wholly to his lack of common-sense in not first making breaches by artillery, and still worse his cowardly abandonment of the whole campaign thereupon, with a vastly superior army. This worthless officer soon afterward returned to England, where he laid the blame for his failure on the shoulders of the Americans. He became one of the most vindictive advocates of the subversion of the liberties of the colonies; and as a member of Parliament, supported all the tyrannical measures suggested or enforced by George III. and his ministers. Abercrombie died finally in the

Abercrombie's later career

spring of 1781, only a short time before the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Americans can have no respect for his memory to offset their natural dislike for a snarling foe, or to satisfy the sense of fairness.

1759

Pitt plans grand campaign to strike down France

No other movements of any consequence took place during the remainder of 1758; but the following year was to witness the most brilliant achievements of the English arms on this continent, and the final extinction of French dominion in Canada. Extraordinary measures were adopted for the campaign of 1759. Pitt resolved, in his own mind, to end the war beyond the Atlantic before the close of that year; and the lofty enthusiasm of the great statesman communicated itself to every branch of the government. Parliament voted £12,000,000 for the general service of the year; and even the colonies were not wholly forgotten, for $1,000,000 of this vast sum was set aside as compensation to the provinces which had raised and supported troops at their own expense.

Main expedition against Quebec

The campaign of this year was planned by Pitt himself. It embraced, as all the previous ones had done, three separate expeditions against Canada. The principal one was to be conducted against the capital of the province by way of the St. Lawrence; its command was assigned to Wolfe, on the faith of his approved daring, skill, and leadership at the siege of Louisbourg. His army was to be composed entirely of British regulars,—the slurs of the imbecile cowards who had first betrayed and then slandered the heroic provincials had had their effects,—and to be supported by a powerful fleet, whose duty it should be not only to assist in the reduction of the enemy's works, but to prevent the approach of reinforcements while this was being accomplished. The French were to be shut up in Canada and leisurely hammered to pieces.

1759

Plan for reducing Canada

General Amherst, who had succeeded Abercrombie in the active command of the central forces, retained that position. He was extremely popular with the Americans, and though a little over-cautious, was regarded as a courageous and able commander. His manners were simple and unaffected, his disposition generous, and he was wholly free from the irritable and bumptious self-magnifying which had been the sole claim to greatness in some of his predecessors. Much was expected of him, and he entered upon the discharge of his duties with the confidence and support—though no whit more than those predecessors had till they proved themselves unworthy of it—of all his forces, which were composed almost entirely of provincials. To him was assigned the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to descend the Lakes and the St. Lawrence and co-operate with Wolfe at Quebec.

Amherst

His assignment

The third expedition, also composed mainly of provincials, with some friendly Indians, was destined to achieve the most brilliant results of the campaign, aside from the capture of Quebec itself. The command of this division was given to General John Prideaux, a British officer of acknowledged ability; and although he fell early in the campaign,

The Niagara expedition

the results which he had accomplished fully justified the confidence that his fellow-soldiers had reposed in him. Sir William Johnson led the Indian contingent of this division, and assumed chief command after the death of Prideaux. Johnson's former experience seems to have been of advantage to him; for in this campaign he displayed talents of a high order, supported by a courage that was faultless. In addition to these three main divisions, General Stanwix remained at the Oneida portage with a considerable army, ready to give support wherever it might be needed.

1759

Sir William Johnson

Stanwix

Objections were urged to the plan in general, on the ground that the divisions were too small, and so widely separated as to be out of sympathetic touch with one another, and liable to destruction in detail. But the complete success of all the movements emphasized the wisdom of the plan. The French were so near the point of exhaustion that they could not rally a force equal to their opponents at any single point; and they suffered from the same inconvenience as the English in having their detachments separated by wide expanses of territory. If they should unite their forces to repel an attack at any particular place, they would uncover all the remainder of the field and expose it to the inroads of the English, who stood ready to occupy whatever the French gave up. It was Pitt's intention, with the overwhelming forces of his country, to crush each division of the French in detail; and the merit of his plan must be conceded if success is to be the criterion.

Pitt's plan judicious

The plan was criticised—sometimes bitterly—by nearly all the writers of that period. "Had the elements been laid," said one, "and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding." But it did succeed, with only a slight disappointment in the central field—and that was no fault of the plan itself. The enemy were "spell-bound" by their inability to command sufficient force to cover so vast a territory, or to defeat a single division of the English. It was therefore good generalship to assault them simultaneously at several widely separated places. It was practically the same plan which had been pursued in all the previous campaigns, except that in the present instance Pitt provided men enough in each division to crush the whole French army if necessary. His genius comprehended the whole field, and the result established the accuracy of his vision. He could afford—as he did—to treat the criticisms of his enemies with indifference, especially as they had nothing better to offer.

1759

Criticism on Pitt ill-taken

The exertions of the mother country to prepare for the new campaign were promptly seconded by the colonies; though at first some reluctance was manifested by the New England provinces. This, however, did not spring from any lack of patriotic enthusiasm: it was the result of the exhausting demands which had so long been made upon their resources. Taxation had reached a limit which, in our time, seems appalling. In Massachusetts the assessments for a single year, on personal estates, amounted to about $3.20 for each $5 of

New England over-burdened

1759

Tremendous provincial taxation

income; while landed estates were assessed at the rate of about $360 for each $1000 of income. In addition to these burdens, each male inhabitant over sixteen was required to pay a poll tax of about $4.56 per annum. Taxation had reached a point where it amounted almost to confiscation; and the people of the New England provinces had begun to ask themselves whether, if they continued to fight, they would not in a little while have nothing to fight for. The compensation voted by Parliament for their relief was not sufficient to cover the actual expenses incurred in the King's service, and the delay in its transmission prevented it from being of immediate service.

Great efforts notwithstanding

But the inherent patriotism of the colonies finally brought them to the point. They ignored all obstacles, and in the end furnished more men than were required. Massachusetts alone sent 6500 of her best troops into the field, and Connecticut duplicated her previous year's contingent of 5000. New Hampshire also was more liberal than ever with men and money. All the other colonies manifested a similar spirit, until an army of more than 50,000 men, including the British regulars, was ready for service. Although their sacrifices were never appreciated, the colonies gave up their best blood in defense of British interests. It is true that they were at the same time fighting their own battles; but England had more at stake than the colonies, for their swarming populations were in no danger of being subjugated by a few French bush-rangers and peasants, and the introduction

Largely unselfish

of powerful French armies was primarily the result of European political squabbles that did not concern the colonies, though they were compelled by force of circumstances to bear the brunt of fighting. They could have taken care of themselves against their foes if not drawn into the frays of their friends.

1759

Not wholly the colonies' fight

As an offset to the overwhelming force which England and the colonies had brought into the field, Montcalm was able to muster only a little over 3000 regulars and about 7000 Canadians, the latter poorly equipped and very inefficient as soldiers. But he made up in part for the lack of numbers and the poverty of equipments, by brilliant generalship. In this respect he was superior to any of the leaders on the English side, except Wolfe, though all the commanders in this campaign were men of ability. Montcalm realized that the situation was desperate; and he informed his government that in all probability the loss of all Canada was close at hand.

Montcalm desperate but unflinching

The first movement on the part of the English, in the great game of war they were now playing, was made by General Amherst, who early in May transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany, preparatory to the investment of Ticonderoga. Some weeks of delay occurred, however, before the army was ready to embark on Lake George—that being the route which Amherst had chosen; and it was the 22d of July before he reached the vicinity of Ticonderoga. Then, having in mind the mistake that had been made by

Amherst moves on Ticonderoga

Abercrombie, and desiring to avoid a similar one, he chose the east instead of the west side of the lake for his landing-place. The troops debarked nearly opposite the French works, and within cannon-shot of them. The army consisted of about 11,400 men, composed of nearly equal numbers of British regulars and provincials.

1759

Amherst at Ticonderoga

At first the French made a considerable show of resistance, though without coming to blows. This compelled Amherst to prepare for a regular siege; and as the preparations were pushed, Montcalm discovered that he no longer had a Webb or an Abercrombie to deal with, wherefore during the night of the 26th he dismantled a portion of the works and retreated to Crown Point. Not a gun had been fired; without the loss of a man or a single discharge of powder, by simply showing that he understood his business, Amherst had accomplished what Abercrombie, with a larger army, and a needless sacrifice of nearly two thousand men, had so miserably failed to do a year before. The English immediately occupied the abandoned works, which Amherst caused to be partly restored while preparing to move on to Crown Point; but before he was ready to leave Ticonderoga, he was surprised to learn that Montcalm had abandoned the former place and taken position on Isle-aux-Noix in the Sorel River.

Montcalm abandons it

And Crown Point

This was a very strong point, from which the French could not easily be driven without the co-operation of vessels of war, of which Amherst had none. Montcalm, on the other hand, was already

RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

possessed of four strong vessels, fully armed and equipped; and he felt that he could rest in comparative safety until the future should reveal its requirements. But again he discovered that he had a general to deal with; for Amherst set his carpenters to work at Crown Point, and in a very short time they had constructed two vessels equal to the best of those possessed by the French. As soon as the little squadron was ready, it was manned by the ever-famous rangers, under the indefatigable Putnam, and sent on a cruise down the Sorel.

1759

Amherst builds vessels to drive out Montcalm

Putnam and his men were not sailors, but they had the happy faculty of adapting themselves to circumstances. As soon as they came in sight of the French ships, they ran alongside and began their first naval battle. Their rifles proved as effective on the water as they had always been on land. Their fire, at point-blank range, was deadly and rapid, and two of the French vessels soon struck their colors; but the others ran under cover of the guns of the fort and escaped. Putnam did not feel justified in risking the lives of his men in an effort to cut them out; so he returned in triumph with his captured ships to Crown Point.

Putnam takes them and captures French ones

Amherst remained at the latter place long enough to construct a flotilla of boats, on which he embarked his army on the 10th of October for an expedition against Isle-aux-Noix. But by this time the northern winter was beginning to be felt; storms of wind, rain, and sleet impeded the advance, and information came to the commander

Amherst moves against Montcalm

that he would find it difficult, if not impossible, to find provisions for his army in Canada. In the region of Montreal, especially, men enough had not been left at home to cultivate the fields or reap the harvests; and such meagre crops as had been grown were the result of the labor of the women and children, and a few men who were too old or decrepit to bear arms. Montcalm had levied upon nearly the entire male population, and there was scarcely food enough in the whole province to sustain the people during the winter. With these facts before him, and possibly influenced to some extent by over-caution, Amherst returned to Crown Point and went into winter quarters.

1759

Canada too famine-stricken to feed two armies

Amherst abandons campaign

He was generally blamed for this retrograde movement; some even placed him in the same class with Abercrombie, but very unjustly. The conditions seem to have justified his course. If he had advanced, Montreal would probably have fallen, almost without a struggle; but he might then have found himself in a position similar to that of Napoleon at Moscow. Food could not have been conveyed to his army over the snow-covered expanses between Albany and Montreal, and starvation or the horrors of a winter retreat would have been his only alternatives. Moreover, Amherst was a humane man, and he counted the lives of the Canadian women and children as of more importance than the immediate triumph of his army. He therefore left them in possession of their little stores of food, and brought his army back within reach of his base of supplies. The

Arguments for and against

Best ones the latter

result justified the wisdom as well as the humanity of his course; and Amherst's name will ever occupy a higher and better place in history than that of some other generals who won more battles and slaughtered more men. His victories on the battlefield were few, but he achieved as much by wise strategy as others gained by carnage and bloodshed. Though cautious, he was famed for the wisdom of his caution. In this he was like Alva and Turenne, but he butchered no innocent populations and desolated no provinces. Nor did he ever, like the craven Webb, refuse to let subordinates undertake enterprises, in jealousy of their success or fear for his safety.

Amherst's character

As soon as Montcalm discovered that he was not to be pressed by Amherst's army, he withdrew nearly all his forces from the upper St. Lawrence and concentrated them at Quebec, in a vain effort to keep the gallant Wolfe out of that place. Here at last the French general was to meet his equal in a British officer, as he soon discovered.

Montcalm concentrates at Quebec

Meanwhile a splendid success attended the expedition sent against Fort Niagara. As previously stated, this division was accompanied by General John Prideaux, and it was composed of two battalions of New York provincials, a battalion of Royal Americans, and two British regiments, with a small train of artillery. It also included a considerable body of Indians, commanded by Sir William Johnson. Niagara was perhaps the most important of the French posts in the west. In conjunction with Fort Frontenac, it constituted one of the links in

Prideaux moves against Fort Niagara

the chain that held the great expanse of French territory together. It was fully as important, in a strategical sense, as Frontenac; and its capture was essential to the success of the English campaign. The fort stood at the mouth of the Niagara River, where it empties into Lake Ontario. Here, as early as 1679, a French officer named La Salle inclosed a small spot with a stockade; and the French colors hoisted by him at that time were never lowered until the coming of the English in 1759.

Fort Niagara

The Iroquois, who exercised sovereignty over that region, proudly disdained the presence of any other race, and objected to the building of a fort on their lands. They demanded that nothing more formidable than a little stockade should be erected there; but in 1725 the French accomplished their object by stratagem. The little garrison had always been kindly treated by the savages, who cheerfully gave them permission to build and maintain "a wigwam" at that place. But the French desired a wigwam of larger dimensions; and during the year just mentioned the Indians were persuaded to go on a grand hunt with a party of French officers, who contrived by one means and another to detain them in the forest for a considerable period of time. On their return they found the walls of a strong fortress nearing completion, with the frowning muzzles of cannon projecting through the embrasures. It was then too late to protest, and they submitted to the imposition, though with very bad grace. Yet they bore no

Built by tricking Iroquois

lasting grudge for the trick: it was legitimate strategy, the French trade brought them comforts and utilities, and after all the French did not take up their lands and oust themselves, so there was no real harm to rankle. The vital French weakness had this small gain.

As the years went by, the works gradually expanded into a still larger fortress, with bastions and ravelins, curtains and counter-scarp, covered ways, drawbridge, stone towers, raking batteries, and all the other accessories of an important post intended to be permanent. A chapel was erected, with a dial over the door to mark the advance of the hours; a contrivance which elicited the unbounded admiration of the savages, as the Jesuits' had the Hurons', and increased French influence by awe of their "medicine."

Fort Niagara strengthened.

When the place was captured by the English during the present campaign, they found in a dungeon under the mess-house numerous instruments of torture, while against the wall stood an apparatus for the strangling and garroting of prisoners. Such gruesome horrors were told of the dismal place, that it received the name of the "black hole." The French commanders in America, released from the restraining influences of civilization, and having sprung usually from a nobility used to savage cruelties on the classes below them and only restrained by fear and habit from including their own, ruled with a despotic sway. Each petty commandant, if he had the disposition, became a tyrant, exercising absolute powers of life and

Ghastly contents

death over his men and officers. In many instances their vengeance extended also to the savages; and the expeditious garrote was but too often supplemented by the horrors of the torture. Many victims, in the faint hope that at some future time their fate might become known to friends or relatives, inscribed their names with pointed instruments on the stone walls of the dungeon. So numerous were these inscriptions that they covered a large portion of the interior space; and it is claimed that as late as 1812, while an American merchant of French ancestry was visiting this chamber of horrors, he discovered, by the flickering light of a lamp, his own family name among hundreds of others.

Awful tales of Fort Niagara

Legends of ghosts and hideous apparitions were long current among the inhabitants of that region, and religiously believed by many. Among others was the story of the headless trunk of a French officer, which had been sitting in melancholy mood on the curb of the well that had been sunk in the floor of the dungeon. Other horrors were told of this same well, which was believed to have been used as a common receptacle for the living as well as the dead.

Haunted

During the Revolution the place remained in possession of the British, and it became a general rendezvous for gangs of desperate and disreputable characters. "It was the headquarters," said one who wrote of that period, "of all that was barbarous, unrelenting, and cruel. There were congregated the leaders and chiefs of those bands of

Later resort of "border ruffians"

murderers and miscreants who carried death and destruction into the remote American settlements. There civilized Europe reveled with savage America, and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those whose only distinction was to wield the bloody tomahawk and the scalping-knife. There the squaws of the forest were raised to eminence, and the most unholy unions between them and officers of the highest rank smiled upon and countenanced. There in their stronghold, like a nest of vultures, securely for seven years they sallied forth and preyed upon the distant settlements of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. It was the depot of their plunder; there they planned their forays, and there they returned to feast, until the time of action came." It is quite in keeping that a half-century later it was the last place to which William Morgan the anti-Mason was traced alive.

1759, etc.

Ruffian society at Fort Niagara

Such then and afterward was the place which Prideaux set out to capture. Embarking his force at Oswego on the first of July, he landed at Fort Niagara on the 7th of that month, and immediately invested the fortifications on all sides. Eight days afterward he was killed by the bursting of a coehorn[1] carelessly loaded by the soldier operating it. As soon as General Amherst was informed of the accident, he dispatched General Gage to take

Prideaux invests Niagara

Killed

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[1] A coehorn was a small mortar, used for throwing grenades, invented by the famous Dutch general Baron Menno von Coehorn in 1674. It was a very effective weapon in its time, and so light that it could be carried by the men or on the backs of pack-animals. For this reason it was much used in the later border wars of the colonies.

1759

Johnson takes Prideaux's place

command of the western army; but meanwhile the operations were conducted by Sir William Johnson, who ably carried out the plans that Prideaux had adopted.

French relief force for Fort Niagara

When the French discovered the English purpose, D'Aubery collected a force of twelve hundred regulars and about the same number of Indians from Presqu'isle, Le Bœuf, and other posts in that region, and marched to the relief of the garrison. Johnson, learning of the approach of this party soon after assuming command, immediately made such dispositions of his forces as were necessary to meet the new danger. The light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, were stationed on the road leading from the walls to the fort, by which the enemy was advancing, the flanks being covered by the Indians and provincial riflemen. The men in the trenches were also protected against any assault that might be made against them by the beleaguered garrison. Johnson's arrangements on this occasion indicated generalship of a superior order, and showed that he had profited by past experience.

Fierce battle with Johnson

The battle took place on the 24th of July. As the enemy approached, the Mohawks, serving with the English, made a sign to the French Indians indicating a desire to parley; but as no response was returned, they raised the war-whoop and prepared for battle. This was answered by yells and a volley from the opposite side, whereupon the contending savages rushed together with a hideous clamor of shouts and barbarous noises. The

French and English forces engaged about the same time, and for nearly an hour a fierce battle raged in the forest. It was one of the most hotly contested engagements of the war. Each side realized the importance of the issue at stake, and they fought with a desperation rarely surpassed in the history of border warfare. The provincials and British regulars attacked the French in front; while the savages, after driving back their opponents, crept through the woods to the rear of the enemy's line and threw them into a panic by pouring volleys into their flanks.

1759

Bloody battle before Niagara

Caught thus in front, flank, and rear, slaughtered by hundreds, the issue for the French could not remain long in doubt. In a little while they were thrown into confusion and fled in a wild rout through the brushwood. For miles they were followed by the victors, and slaughtered with relentless fury by the savages wherever they were overtaken. No quarter was given that day; Johnson did all he could to prevent the barbarities of the Indians, but as usual they were uncontrollable. The French commander and most of his officers surrendered to the white troops, and thus saved their lives; but many disgusting scenes of butchery were hidden in the dark recesses of the wilderness. The French regiments were practically annihilated, only a few terrified wretches escaping under cover of the darkness. There was no longer an organized French army in the west.

French relief force annihilated

And French power in the west

The following morning, Johnson notified the commandant at the fort of the sweeping victory the English had won, and advised surrender while it was in his power to protect the former and his men from the ferocity of the savages. The message brought a quick response, and the garrison surrendered at discretion the same day. As a partial recompense for their wounded pride, the men were allowed to march out of the fortifications with the honors of war, and were then sent as prisoners to New York under a guard strong enough to insure their safety. The atrocities at Fort William Henry were still fresh in the memory of the English and colonists, to make them lukewarm about saving the French now, and many Indians whose relatives had fallen there were also thirsting for vengeance; but Johnson had determined from the outset that the English flag should not be disgraced by similar outrages. His influence over the Indians whom he commanded was so complete that not a single regrettable incident occurred. The French prisoners, of whom there were nearly one thousand, were well cared for, and on their arrival in New York they received every attention that humanity could dictate from its inhabitants. This case proved that white officers could control the ferocity of the savages when they dared to try. The sick and wounded were cared for at the fortress until able to rejoin their own people; while at their own request the women and children of the garrison were sent to Montreal. The whole affair reflected great credit on the English army and its officers.

1759

Fort Niagara surrendered by French

Johnson prevents massacre

The capture of Niagara was followed by the abandonment of all the French posts on the lake,

1759

Loss of Niagara loses west to France

as far as Presqu'isle; and two months later, when news came of the capture of Quebec, the remnant of their forces in the west retired to the Mississippi Valley and the confines of Louisiana. Here they remained inactive until the close of the war, for there was no further organized opposition on the part of the French in all that region.

Inaction of their conquerors

But the English commanders, instead of carrying out the plans arranged for them by the British minister, and aiding in the reduction of Quebec, remained inactive until the approach of the cold weather, when they went into winter quarters, and left Wolfe and his little army alone to achieve the crowning victory of the war.

Quebec

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the boldest yet conceived in the fertile brain of the British premier. Nature and art had united in rendering the place almost impregnable. In the building of fortifications and the strengthening of natural defenses, the French had spent many millions of livres; until Quebec had come to be justly regarded as the Gibraltar of America. The upper section of the city, as well as the principal fortress, stood on the summit of a precipice whose highest elevation was three hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the river; and war-ships lying in the St. Lawrence could not throw either shot or shell to the top of this eminence. Consequently, a fleet would be of very little service in bringing the place to terms.

At the time of which we are writing, the city was defended by a force equal in numbers to any that the British could spare for that quarter, 1759 commanded by the most brilliant and resourceful officer that France had yet sent to America. In view of all the obstacles to be overcome, the enterprise might have seemed impossible to any leader less sanguine than William Pitt; but he believed that as a rule the boldest movements in war, if directed by minds of the first order, are generally the most successful. He therefore selected for this undertaking the best regiments in the English service, and chose as their leader a youthful commander whose achievements in this war had already confirmed the confidence with which his conduct in previous ones had inspired the minister at the outset.

Pitt's bold move against Quebec

General James Wolfe was an ideal hero. Then only in his thirty-third year, he had risen by intrinsic merits and deeds to the position of brigadier-general, at a time when political jobbery and family influence were more frequent roads to such rank; and was now intrusted with the chief command of the most important expedition his country had undertaken for many years. The honor as well as the responsibility of the trust would have turned the head of any man less firmly grounded in the true principles of solid worth. Wolfe was remarkable for the sensitive refinement of his nature. If he had not chosen the army as a profession, he would doubtless have won equal or greater fame in art or literature. His countenance was that of a poet; the light of genius shone in every lineament. His face was smooth and soft as a

Wolfe

GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

1759

Wolfe's character

girl's. In form and feature he was almost beautiful, with manners as gentle and refined as his appearance was attractive. To his other inspiration he added that of an ardent love for an amiable woman, to whom he was engaged, and would have been married had he lived to return home.

This model hero was in England when the commission to capture Quebec was conferred upon him. Like many other geniuses, he was almost painfully sensitive; but at the same time he had a just appreciation of his own talents. In the common occurrences of life he did not appear to good advantage, for he had been almost born and bred in camp; his manners had some of the bluntness of a soldier. "I am a wandering lump of errors," he wrote to his mother, in deprecation of the faults which he felt that he possessed. Yet he was by nature so gentle that he shone in whatever society he chose to mingle. The confidence reposed in him by the chief statesman of his country seems to have inspired him with a lofty determination to succeed or perish in the effort.

Last interview with Pitt

On the evening preceding his embarkation for America, he dined by special invitation with Pitt, who chose that occasion for imparting to him his final instructions. The interview lasted several hours, and the impression created on the mind of Wolfe continued with him till the last moment of his life. Pitt also was profoundly impressed by the character of his chosen leader. Therefore, when others were doubtful and fearful, the great premier remained faithful to the conviction that he had done the right thing in intrusting the most important enterprise of his administration to this youthful hero. 1759

Three other young brigadiers were assigned to duty under him; namely, Moncton, Murray, and Townshend. The fame of the first had been somewhat tarnished by the unwilling service in Acadia; but Americans retain an affectionate regard for his memory, by reason of the fact that when they entered upon their struggle for independence, he refused to draw his sword against them. He scouted the false and unpatriotic theory that his allegiance was due to his country, even though it was in the wrong; a principle which, if universally followed, would banish liberty and justice from among nations. As to Murray, it was claimed by writers of that date that he was rash and inconsiderate; but his acts hardly justify the charge. He became governor of the province of Canada, and won the love of the inhabitants by pursuing a course of justice and clemency toward them. Under a fair consideration of his deeds, his record stands unclouded.

Moncton

Murray

Townshend, the third of the triumvirate of brigadiers, became commander-in-chief after the fall of Wolfe, and carrying the plans of his superior to their legitimate conclusion, forced the capitulation of the city. Afterward, in his official report, he ignored Wolfe, even censuring him by imputation, and claimed all the credit for the victory for himself. This act revealed the character of the man; but posterity did not fail to place the

George Townshend

honors where they belonged. Townshend's military reputation receives its only lustre from the reflected glory of the fame of Wolfe. During the first part of the reign of George III. he became a member of the Cabinet, and for a number of years was prominent in politics. During this period he manifested so vindictive a spirit toward the Americans that his memory cannot be cherished by them, and his action in Ireland is even less to his honor.

1759

George Townshend

The grenadiers were formed into a special corps, under command of Colonel Guy Carleton; who also became governor of Canada at a subsequent date, and served against the Americans with reluctance during the struggle for independence. Lieutenant-Colonel, afterward General Sir William Howe, led a detachment of light infantry. He was very popular with the colonies at the time, in part on account of his relationship to his brother who had been killed at Ticonderoga; but naturally was less liked when commanding an English army against them in the war of independence. Curiously, he was equally unpopular in England for commanding it so ill: there is reason to believe that Americans would have liked him better had they understood his exact purpose better.

Guy Carleton

William Howe

But the most distinguished of all the officers who took part in the expedition against Quebec, aside from the commander himself, was Colonel Isaac Barré. Serving as an unknown ensign under Wolfe at Louisbourg, he so deported himself there as to excite the admiration of his commander, who soon after secured his promotion to the position

Barré

of brigade-major and lieutenant-colonel. When 1759 Wolfe was apprised that he was to lead the British forces against Quebec, he selected Barré as his **Barré** adjutant-general; and the two were thus brought into such intimate terms, and became such fast friends, that when Wolfe received his mortal wound on the Heights of Abraham, he fell into the arms of Barré. The latter had himself been badly hurt by a musket ball, which, striking him in the face, destroyed the sight of one of his eyes; and at a later period in life he became totally blind through a sympathetic affection of the optic nerves. His brilliant record in Parliament as a friend of the American colonies is familiar to every student of history.

The army assembled at Halifax in June 1759. It consisted of about eight thousand men, most of whom were British regulars. There was, however, **Wolfe's army** a small contingent of provincials, to whom the success of the enterprise was in a large measure due. A fleet of forty-four vessels of various descriptions, under Admiral Saunders, was assigned to the duty of transporting the army to Quebec and assisting in the reduction of the place. One of these vessels was commanded by Captain James Cook, before **Captain Cook** mentioned. No other expedition in the history of our country embraced so many men who were marked for immortality at later periods in their lives.

On June 26 the whole armament arrived in front of Quebec; and the following day the greater part of the troops were landed on the island of

Orleans, a little below the city. To the north of Quebec flows the river St. Charles, emptying into the St. Lawrence at the foot of the promontory on which the city stands. Nine miles further down another river, the Montmorency, after plunging over a cataract two hundred and fifty feet in height, flows thence in a gentle current for two or three hundred yards, when it also unites its waters with those of the St. Lawrence. During a few hours of low tide this portion of the Montmorency is capable of being forded by men on foot, a fact of which Wolfe availed himself at one period of the siege.

1759

The rivers about Quebec

The French army lay intrenched along the heights overlooking the St. Lawrence, between the Montmorency and the St. Charles, and having access to the city over a bridge of boats that had been thrown across the latter. The centre of the French position was at the village of Beauport, a little above the point of the island where Wolfe had established his camp. Montcalm expected the attack from that quarter, and made his arrangements accordingly. His force was composed of French regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians; though but few of the latter appeared in his ranks, for they apprehended the approaching catastrophe and preferred to remain neutral. The Canadian soldiers were inferior at best; and being badly drilled and poorly armed, and suffering from the effects of the famine which had so long prevailed in the province, they were in no condition to meet the fine regiments of British regulars. The French regular troops, on the other hand, were almost

French position at Quebec

Montcalm's army

worn out by fatigue, and famishing for lack of food.

1759

Policy of Wolfe and Montcalm

In numbers the two armies stood on about equals, but when it came to fighting capacity the English were superior in every way. Yet their advantage in this respect was more than counterbalanced by the strength of the fortifications, which were generally regarded as impregnable. Wolfe realized that it was essential to his own success to force the fighting, if possible, on open ground; while Montcalm was equally resolved not to abandon the safety of his works. The test of generalship between the two commanders, therefore, lay in the ability of either to force the other side from his fixed purpose.

French try fire-ships

During the night of the 28th, the French made an effort to destroy the English fleet by means of fire-ships. A large number were set adrift on the tide, which runs swiftly at that point; and as they floated down toward the English vessels, a scene of awful grandeur ensued. They were built of the most combustible materials, and the flames bursting from their hulks soon leaped high into the air, and cast an intense and weird light for many miles over the surrounding landscape. Every now and then, as the flames reached one of the magazines, a terrific explosion took place, scattering burning timbers over the surface of the water, and adding an element of horror to a scene that was otherwise indescribably grand. Fortunately for the British ships, the nervousness of the men who had been intrusted with the kindling of the fire-ships caused them to light the matches and escape to the shore too soon; so that most of the hulks either exploded or were consumed before they came into dangerous proximity with the English vessels. The terror of the scene, however, inspired the sailors with a momentary panic, and for a little while a frightful catastrophe seemed inevitable. But quickly recovering their presence of mind, they ventured out in row-boats and towed the remaining hulks ashore, where they continued to burn and explode until after daylight the next morning.

French fire-ships create panic

English sailors tow them ashore

The young commander was profoundly mortified over the panic which this incident had produced; and on the morning of the 29th he issued a general order severely reprimanding the men who had deserted their posts, while the officers were placed temporarily under arrest. These vigorous measures soon restored order, and prepared the army to meet future emergencies with a spirit of courageous fortitude.

Wolfe punishes cowards

During the night of the 29th, Moncton with his brigade was transferred across the St. Lawrence to Point Levi, almost opposite Quebec, where the river is compressed into a channel not more than a mile wide. Here batteries were erected with a view of bombarding the city. A church was also seized, and a proclamation in French posted up, guaranteeing the inhabitants protection if they would refrain from taking part in the conflict, but threatening dire punishments otherwise. This proclamation had an effect directly the opposite of what was intended; for the priests harangued the

Attempt to neutralize French civilians

populace and the soldiers, and aroused both to an intense pitch of resentment. They denounced the English as heretics, robbers, and incendiaries; desecrators of temples and devoid of the common instincts of humanity. They painted the horrors suffered by Acadia in vivid colors, and warned the inhabitants of Quebec that a similar fate awaited them if they permitted the British to gain a footing within their walls. Unfortunately, some of these charges were but too true, and some of the men who had been concerned in the transactions were present. These facts being well known to the inhabitants, the appeals of their priests aroused within them a mental condition bordering upon frenzy, and they demanded to be led against Point Levi. They had actually embarked in boats for this desperate adventure, when a broadside or two from the ships drove them back.

1759

Wolfe's proclamation a boomerang

Priests hearten people to attack English

In a few minutes Moncton opened his batteries on the city with bombs and red-hot cannon balls. Houses crumbled and fell beneath the iron hail, and the ruins soon burst into flames from contact with the hot shot. In a little while all that portion of the town under the hill was destroyed, and some slight damage had been wrought in the upper town and the citadel. But as these stood on the summit of the precipice, it was impossible to elevate the guns enough to make their fire effective in that section. Wolfe now realized that in order to carry the place he must beat the French army first: of course he had all along held that in mind as the ultimate objective of his campaign, to be decisive.

Fruitless bombardment of Quebec

1759

The Canadians meanwhile, rejecting the proffered good-will of the English commander, and listening to the fervid exhortations of their priests, joined the scalping parties of the savages, and assisted in waylaying and murdering, and afterward mutilating, stragglers and small parties from the British camp. The bitterness already existing between the combatants had been intensified by the destruction of the lower town, an act which seemed to verify the assertions of the priests regarding the vandalism of the English.

French-Canadians become Indians for the nonce

Thus, step by step, the animosities of national rivalry were augmented by overt acts on both sides, and to this was added the intense hatred of religious prejudice. The passions of the contending races were gradually rising to a point where they threatened to burst forth in atrocities that would shame and shock the civilization of the age. Wolfe therefore sent a letter to Montcalm, remonstrating against the inhumanities which had been committed by the Canadians. Although a courteous reply was returned, the outrages continued to increase, until at length the British commander was constrained to resort to reprisals: the corn standing in the fields, and detached houses and barns, were destroyed, and the sufferings of the inhabitants thereby greatly increased. But these were minor incidents: Wolfe kept his thoughts steadily fixed on the accomplishment of the great enterprise with which he had been intrusted.

Wolfe ravages country in reprisal

Observing that the eastern bank of the Montmorency was higher than the ground occupied by

Montcalm, and inferring from this fact that it would give his artillery the advantage of sending a plunging fire into the enemy's lines, he transferred his army across the north branch of the St. Lawrence and established his camp in that locality. This movement took place on the 9th of July. It resulted, however, in no material advantage, for the distance was too great for the effective use of the guns. But in another way it served a good purpose: it confirmed the French commander in his previously formed opinion that no attack would be made except from that quarter; and the neglect which he thereafter bestowed on other points soon proved his ruin.

1759

Wolfe bombards Quebec from Montmorency

On the 18th, Wolfe, accompanied by Admiral Saunders, set out on an exploring expedition, in the course of which he carefully examined the French line all the way from the Montmorency to Quebec. Then venturing above the city, he critically observed the apparently impregnable heights on which it stood. It was during this investigation that his keen eye discovered the narrow path leading from the water up the face of the cliff to the Heights of Abraham, on a level with the upper town. This difficult way, he felt assured, might afford a solution of the problem he had in hand. Regarding the French forces with avowed contempt, as an unorganized horde to which he refused the designation of an army, he felt assured of victory could he but once force an engagement in the open field. At the same time, the conditions demanded the utmost caution, for every avenue of

Inspects site of Quebec

Wishes to decoy out French

approach was guarded by intrenchments, boats, and floating batteries. In the broad mouth of the St. Charles lay a fleet of twenty war-ships, ready at any moment to act in conjunction with the land forces, which had recently been augmented and now numbered about 10,000 men. A less sanguine commander might have regarded these obstacles as insurmountable; but the very difficulties by which he was surrounded inspired Wolfe with a larger degree of courage and determination.

1757

Montcalm's defenses and fleet

Thus matters progressed, undisturbed by any important event, until near the end of July; Wolfe constantly growing more impatient over delays which he could not prevent. Numerous devices were resorted to with the hope of bringing the enemy to an engagement, but Montcalm was too wary a commander to be led voluntarily into a false movement. On one occasion he sent a detachment across the St. Lawrence to attack Moncton's brigade at Point Levi, but abandoned the movement as soon as he observed that it had a tendency to bring on a general battle. This he was resolved to avoid, except as a last resort; for he was well aware that in an equal contest his troops would be no match for the English.

Wary tactics

During the night of the 28th another effort was made to destroy the British fleet by fire; but like the first, it failed. A large number of rafts were constructed above the city, and being loaded with combustible materials, were fired and set adrift on the tide. The spectacle was alarming enough as the burning rafts floated down toward the ships,

More fire-ships

1759

Fire-ships again fail

a solid wall of fire, the flames leaping up to the height of the tallest masts; but the sailors, remembering their former experience, did not fall into a panic. The sides of the ships were hastily protected by wet canvas, while the rafts were towed aside by boats, so that no harm came to the fleet.

Wolfe now determined to make a final effort to force an engagement. He felt that something ought to be done before the season advanced too far for active operations, in order that the English public, as well as the administration, might be assured that he was not neglecting the duty assigned to him.

Plan to force Montcalm into general battle

At this time his own forces and the left of the French line were separated only by the narrow stream of the Montmorency, which, as previously stated, was fordable for some distance below the falls. A bold movement was planned to carry a redoubt which stood close to the water's edge on the French side, and thus compel Montcalm to come to the relief of his outposts, when it was hoped he could be forced into battle. Thirteen companies of grenadiers and a portion of Moncton's brigade were assigned to this duty, the entire army meanwhile being placed in readiness for immediate action. The engagement occurred on the last day of July; and the men, weary of their long inactivity, sprang to their places eager for the excitement of battle. As they marched to their various stations they displayed much enthusiasm, evidently believing that the long-expected contest was at hand.

Some delay was occasioned in bringing over Moncton's men, by the grounding of several of the boats on a ledge of rocks, where they were exposed to the fire of several batteries. But the French gunners were inaccurate of aim, and the shot flew wide of the mark. Boats were soon shoved off, and the troops landed; when they formed and advanced on the redoubt, which was instantly abandoned. Some confusion took place in the ranks of the enemy during this movement, whereupon Wolfe resolved to assault the intrenchments. His troops were in fine spirits, and he felt that now was the time to strike a decisive blow. Those who had already crossed were ordered to form on the beach, and await the arrival of the remainder of Moncton's force, which consisted of Royal Americans, one of the finest organizations in the army.

1759

Montmorency redoubt carried

But the grenadiers, already on the French side of the Montmorency, and exposed to the fire of the upper batteries, felt that they must do something. Like all unseasoned troops in such situations, they could not curb their impatience and await the order to advance. From their position they could see only a part of the works to be overcome, and consequently were able to form no accurate estimate of their real strength. In the midst of this excitement some one shouted "Charge!" when away went the whole body in a wild rush against the intrenchments. It was a disastrous movement. Cannon and musketry opened on them in front and flank, tearing ragged openings through their ranks, and before they had traversed half the distance the

Regulars "bolt"

Assault French works

1759

troops came to a sudden halt; then huddling into a disordered mass like frightened sheep, they fled back to the redoubt which they had but a little while before so bravely stormed and captured. Several hundred men fell as a result of this unfortunate disobedience of orders, and a number of officers, while endeavoring to rally the troops, were shot down. Wolfe appeared on the scene at this juncture, and while exposing his life with dauntless courage, soundly berated the men for their rashness. The ranks, however, were so broken and confused that order could not be restored.

Grenadiers hopelessly broken

While this was taking place, Moncton's Royal Americans landed; and though they formed under fire as coolly as if they had been on parade, their example was lost on the stampeded troops. The latter were so thoroughly frightened that they paid no attention either to the commands of their officers or the firmness of Moncton's men. As the dusk of evening approached, a violent thunderstorm broke over the battlefield, adding to the terror and dismay of the English, while not in the least interfering with the activity of the French, who were close by their intrenchments. The rising tide now threatened to cut off the retreat of the former; and seeing that nothing more could be effected, Wolfe reluctantly gave the order to retire to their own side of the Montmorency. No sooner had the English left the field than it was covered with swarms of Canadians and Indians, who came down from the intrenchments like birds of evil fame to slay the wounded and scalp the dead.

Royal Americans steady

Wolfe compelled to retreat

When Wolfe denounced this barbarity to Montcalm, the latter laid it to the charge of those divisions of his troops which he claimed no discipline could control; but it was unfortunate for the reputation of that officer that so many acts of this kind took place under his command. The truth is doubtless that with his inferior numbers and critical state, he dared not discipline his allies for fear of being left with his force hopelessly wrecked.

Outrages of Montcalm's militia and Indians

The battle from which Wolfe had hoped and expected so much had proven a disaster which he keenly felt, though the unhappy result was no fault of his. Four hundred men were lost, principally as a result of their own folly; and a spirit of gloom was introduced into the army which hurt it more than the loss of men. In his general orders, the young commander censured the impetuosity of the grenadiers, to whom he attributed the miscarriage of his plans; but he praised the coolness of the Royal Americans, and declared that they were alone able to whip the whole French army. The reflection stung the regulars to the quick, for they felt that any comparison with the despised Americans was a humiliation. But they soon afterward wiped out the stain of their disgrace on the Heights of Abraham.

Wolfe's report blames grenadiers

Depressed by ill-health and the failure of his first important movement, Wolfe now longed for information from Amherst and Prideaux, both of whom were to have acted in concert with him; but no word came from either of those commanders. The days went by with no comforting news from

1759

the west; until finally the young leader made up his mind that he should be compelled to rely entirely upon his own resources. While anxiously waiting for tidings which did not come, he sent General Murray, with twelve hundred men, to destroy the French shipping above Quebec and open communication with Amherst, whom he fondly hoped might be within reach. Murray met with only partial success. Twice he was foiled in his efforts to land; but finally, gaining a slight success at Deschambault, he learned from some prisoners captured there that Niagara had fallen and Ticonderoga been abandoned.

Murray assails French shipping

This was good news in some respects and bad in others; for the French reverses in the west would release a number of men to swell the forces of Montcalm. Wolfe also compared his own failure with the successful achievements of the other British commanders; and the despondency resulting therefrom, added to his constitutional ailment, threw him into a fever which for some weeks incapacitated him for active duties. Thus time passed until near the end of August; when, still weak from the effects of the fever, but as strong as ever in his determination to succeed, he proposed the immediate storming of Montcalm's position at Beauport. The three subordinate brigadiers, to whom the plan was outlined in council, regarded it as too desperate to admit of success, and it was accordingly abandoned. It was known that Montcalm's army had been reinforced up to about 15,000 men, such as they were—mostly raff,

Wolfe hears of Niagara and Ticonderoga

Sickness and desperate plan

to be sure; while the original English forces had been considerably reduced by sickness and battle.

1759

The brigadiers suggested in turn that the army be conveyed above the city, where it could be so manœuvred as to cut off the supplies of food which the French were obtaining by boats from Montreal. This would eventually compel Montcalm to fight them on ground of their own choosing, when they would at least stand an equal chance with him. Wolfe had himself previously entertained a similar idea, and had it in mind when he made the exploration in company with Admiral Saunders; but as it would require the practical severance of their connections with the sea, he had dismissed it as too hazardous for consideration. Now it appeared to him as perhaps the only remaining hope of success, and it was adopted by the unanimous consent of the council.

Council of war favors reducing of Quebec by famine

Plan adopted

But the mind of the commander was yet in doubt, and he wrote in the like strain to Pitt, referring to the new undertaking as "a choice of difficulties." This letter bore date the 2d of September, only eleven days before the achievement of the victory which crowned Wolfe's memory with immortality. "In this situation," he wrote, "there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable result." Pitt read the dispatch in dismay, believing it was intended to

Wolfe in doubt

prepare him and the nation for some impending disaster. For a while his faith in the capacity of the young commander was shaken, and he regretted having appointed him to so responsible a place. But the recollection of what Wolfe had accomplished at Louisbourg soon restored his equanimity. The publication of the dispatch aroused a feeling of alarm throughout the country, to be followed a few days later by the wildest enthusiasm when news of the victory came,—the knell of French America and the coronation of English lordship over the Western Hemisphere.

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Wolfe's star sinks

Blazes forever

About this time Wolfe had reached the lowest depths of despondency. He compared the victories that had been achieved by the other commanders with his own failures; and while he rejoiced over their successes, he freely blamed himself for the disasters that had attended his efforts. The repulse at Montmorency, though by no means crippling, and not in the least due to any lack of judgment on his part, preyed upon his delicate sensibilities and threw him still deeper into the depths of gloom. He seemed no longer to anticipate anything but defeat. Writing about this time to Admiral Saunders, regarding some matters of detail, he declared that he was sensible of his own errors during the campaign, and referred to himself as "a man that must necessarily be ruined." He declared also, to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of the expedition. But he did not permit his mental gloom to cloud his clear

Wolfe down-spirited

Thinks of suicide

QUEBEC FROM POINT LEVI.

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intellect, or interfere with the display of his extraordinary energy. His close friends alone knew of the despondency that oppressed him; toward the enemy he maintained an attitude of lofty superiority. When a French officer, bearing a flag of truce from Montcalm, indulged in some gasconade regarding the prowess and determination of his leader and people, "I will be master of Quebec," exclaimed Wolfe, "if I stay here until the end of November."

Wolfe defiant to French

Montcalm, on the other hand, was elated over the affair at Montmorency. He boasted of it as a great victory, declaring to some of his Indian chiefs that he had conquered the English and driven them away. "Conquered them!" replied the chiefs contemptuously: "we will never believe that until you drive them back to their ships. Are they not still firing against Quebec? Are they not as unconcerned in their camps as if nothing had happened?" The savages were losing faith in the prowess of the French, which rendered that branch of Montcalm's army of but little service: they were looking forward to the time when it might be to their interest to make terms with the English.

Indians lose faith in French

On the 3d of September the camp at Montmorency was abandoned, and the brigades of Murray and Townshend were moved across the St. Lawrence to Point Levi. Montcalm evidently regarded this movement as the beginning of a final retreat, for he instantly marched two of his battalions toward the upper ford of the Montmorency with the intention of falling upon the

Wolfe concentrates at Point Levi

British rear. But a feint by Moncton against the French centre at Beauport soon brought those troops back to their original positions.

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Moncton's feint

Montcalm in every movement, despite his late victory, manifested a great caution about closing with the English forces: he realized that he was pitted against one of the ablest commanders in the British service, he knew that the very grenadiers who had "bolted" were steady as the hills in a pitched field, and he left nothing to chance. If at the last he first made a singularly false tactical play, then left a vital spot unguarded in his armor and his opponent found it and struck to the heart, it must be remembered that few commanders have made so few errors of judgment, in a series of campaigns crowded with harassing anxieties and inner consciousness of a hopeless cause, and that only a falcon-eyed genius spurred by desperate need would have noted the joint; and even so, only the cowardice of its guardians made it fatal.

Montcalm's strategic action

By the 5th the English army had been concentrated at Point Levi. Some authorities claim that the camp on the Isle of Orleans was maintained and protected by a strong detachment; but it was hardly possible that Wolfe would have jeopardized his entire army by separating it into divisions so small as to invite destruction in detail. The security of Point Levi was essential to the salvation of the army in case of defeat, as it insured an open way to the sea; and that place was accordingly fortified and a strong detachment left for its

Wolfe's policy

defense. On the 5th and 6th of September the remainder of the army was moved some distance above the city, and landed on the north bank of the river at Cape Rouge.

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Wolfe transfers his army up the river

The force now under Wolfe's immediate command was reduced to less than four thousand men, and the situation looked desperate. Within a few days, news had been received from Amherst that no assistance could be expected from him. The outlook was gloomy indeed; but in this threatened crisis of his affairs the genius of the young commander shone with peculiar brilliancy. Thrown entirely upon his own resources, with no hope or expectation of aid from others, he rose to the requirements of the situation, and conquered a victory that covered his name with imperishable glory. Whatever may have been Amherst's reasons or justifications, he little dreamed what he was losing in the chance of being held, as the commander-in-chief, the captor of Quebec instead of Wolfe.

What might have been

The movement up the river deceived Montcalm. He imagined that as the English were approaching that portion of his defenses which were deemed impregnable, they were merely making a feint, with the ultimate view of raising the siege and abandoning the enterprise. Monsieur de Bougainville was therefore sent with a small force of 1500 men to watch their movements, while De Levis was dispatched with 3000 troops to relieve Montreal, which was believed to be in danger from the division under Amherst. Never did a general

Montcalm deceived

commit a more serious error on the eve of an engagement than this of Montcalm. By his own act he threw away his advantage of numbers, reduced his army to an equal footing with that of his opponent, and opened the way to defeat.

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Montcalm's great error

Wolfe saw the mistake, and rejoiced over the successful progress of his plans. His movement above the city having completely foiled his adversary, he still further mystified him as to his real plans by other manœuvres on the river. For several days a portion of the fleet was directed to sail up and down the St. Lawrence, under pretense of seeking a favorable landing-place; while Captain Cook was sent to make audacious soundings and lay buoys immediately in front of the works at Beauport, as if that were the point selected for attack. These movements completely bewildered the French commander. He had been outgeneraled and did not know what course to pursue. The portion of the French fleet which had remained above the city sought refuge in the river Batiscan, and thither Bougainville marched with 1500 men, believing the British were about to attempt the capture of those vessels. He was thus taken out of the reach of Wolfe's grand movement.

Wolfe's feints

Montcalm puzzled

Less than two miles above Quebec, on the north side of the St. Lawrence, the English commander had observed a small cove, which still bears his name, jutting into the land far enough to escape the swift current of the tides; and it was from the margin of this cove that the narrow path previously mentioned ascended to the summit of the

Wolfe's Cove

heights. Here was a safe landing-place for the boats, and a road, though ever so difficult, to victory and renown. Not more than two men could ascend the path abreast, while from the river the face of the cliff appeared to be almost perpendicular; but it was composed of ledges and uneven projections, where bold men might find a footing and thus ascend, as the future demonstrated. Montcalm had not the least idea that an attempt would ever be made at that point; and consequently a small guard of less than one hundred men, with four small cannon, was stationed there as a mere precaution. Not unless the English had wings, it would seem, could they gain the Heights of Abraham.

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The cliff path to the heights

Yet the very place which he believed to be impregnable was the point of attack selected by the adventurous Wolfe. It was a dangerous enterprise, however, demanding the most careful forethought in its execution. The effort was to be made in the darkness, which would add a hundredfold to the difficulties. A single error, a slip of the foot, an unexpected discovery by the guards at the top of the cliff, might defeat the whole plan and cover the commander with reproach for attempting the impossible. The current swept by the cove at a rapid rate, and the boats might be carried beyond the landing-place or miss it in the darkness—as some of them did when the attempt was made. Failure meant ruin; for the great majority of men would regard the effort to move an army up the face of a precipice, in the darkness, as foolhardy.

Dangers

Indeed it seemed so; and if Wolfe had been older 1759 or less venturesome, he might have shrunk from the ordeal. Yet he determined to stake his fame on the issue. Wolfe's plan of desperation It was clear that he could not subdue the city from the front, and something must be done to rescue the expedition from utter failure. As he had already declared, he would not live to endure the shame of a defeat. Death seemed preferable to leading a beaten army back to England: some of his predecessors had held a different scale of values.

The night of the 12th of September was fixed upon for the undertaking. As many boats as could be brought together without exciting the suspicion of the enemy were collected at Cape Rouge, the fleet meanwhile continuing its activities at various places along the stream, so as to occupy the attention of the French; and as an alleged deserter on Stratagems to throw French off guard the morning of the 12th made his way into the French lines, and still further deluded Montcalm into the belief that Beauport would be the storm centre of the coming battle, there is little doubt that Wolfe sent him. It is true, however, that while in order to encourage the men, they were informed that a decisive blow was to be struck, no intimation of the point of attack was given to the rank and file, for the very purpose of preventing leakage from loose tongues or treachery; and a real deserter could have told nothing else.

In order to keep up the pretense of an attack in that quarter, the ships still remained in the basin below the city, moved in closer to the shore just

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Wolfe's final ruse

before sunset on the evening of the 12th, and lowered and manned their boats as if preparing for action. But as soon as darkness came on, all the men who could be spared from the fleet were transferred to Point Levi, and there taking boat joined the army on the Quebec side.

Fierce tidal current of St. Lawrence

The place of assembly was some distance above the point selected for the attack, and it was necessary to embark the troops in boats and float down to the cove with the ebb-tide. Some idea of the difficulties to be encountered in this movement may be gathered from a description of the surroundings written by Wolfe himself, four days before the battle. Said he: "We have seven hours, and sometimes (above the town, after rain) near eight hours, of the most violent ebb-tide that can be imagined, which loses us an infinite deal of time in every operation on water; and the stream is so strong, particularly here, that the ships often drag their anchors by the mere force of the current. The bottom is a bed of rock, so that a ship, unless it hooks a ragged rock, holds by the weight only of the anchor. Doubtless if the equinoctial gale had any force, a number of ships must necessarily run ashore and be lost." But in spite of these difficulties, and others that would naturally arise in the execution of the design, the general entertained no thought of altering his plans or abandoning the undertaking. The die had been cast; he would go forward to the end, let it be victory or ruin.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 12th the troops began to embark; and by two the next morning, all of the first division was formed into line and ready to advance. Absolute silence had been enjoined upon the men; no one was allowed to speak on pain of death. The troops were not yet informed of their destination; but they were instructed to follow their officers, and to refrain from firing until the order was given, on pain of being instantly shot. The general's barge now took its place in front; and the signal being given, the fleet moved forward into the darkness. Not a sound broke the stillness of the night. The boats swept onward with the tide as noiselessly as if they and their human cargo had been inanimate objects. The oars had been muffled, and only such as were needed to direct the course of the boats were brought into use, and these were so gently dipped that not even the sound of the rippling water could be heard. It was a moonless night, but the reflection of the stars gave light enough to mark the course of the river and indicate the dim outlines of the cliffs.

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Toward Wolfe's Cove in dead silence

Now that they were going into action, the gloomy mood which had so long depressed the spirits of the commander vanished, and he conversed freely, in a scarcely audible tone, with those who sat near him. A friend in England had but recently sent him a handsomely printed copy of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard,* in which he was profoundly interested. As his barge swept by the solemn cliffs, he repeated some of the most striking verses, dwelling with special emphasis on that eloquent and mournful stanza —

Wolfe and Gray's "Elegy"

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;—
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

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As he finished the stanza, he exclaimed with impressive earnestness, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." It is a natural feeling of the man with poetic soul toward the embodier of his deep unexpressed emotions; yet but for the takers of the world's Quebecs, the world's poets would have no quiet stable society wherein to create their visions of beauty.

Man of action vs. poet

The break of day was approaching as the boats turned into the cove and came to land. Wolfe was the first to spring ashore; and as he glanced at the rocky precipice towering upward almost out of sight, he said to Colonel Howe, who had been chosen to command the advance, "I doubt if you will get up; but you must do what you can." The ascent began at once, Wolfe himself leading the way. Colonel Howe and the men clambered after him up the winding path; and just as they reached the summit, they were discovered and fired on by the guard stationed there. The English responded; whereupon the French fled, leaving their guns in the hands of the assailants. Had they put up the plucky fight they should, they might well have held off the climbing troops till reinforcements came and hurled the assailants down the cliff, turning the English victory into a bloody and final repulse —though exhaustion must ultimately have given

Landing at Wolfe's Cove

Path climbed; French guards run

Canada to the English. As it was, the latter had 1759 the first vantage: they had won the Heights!

Main body climb the heights

Meanwhile the main body of the light infantry, either mistaking the entrance to the cove, or unable to control the boats in the rapid current, were carried below the landing-place, and came ashore at the foot of the precipice. Undismayed by the apparently impossible task which lay before them, and excited by the sound of firing, they scaled the almost perpendicular wall of the cliff, dragging themselves up by roots and shrubs and projecting rocks. Now that the alarm had been given, no further effort was made at concealment: the troops pushed their way up the foot-path or climbed the precipice as best they could, until by daylight the whole army stood embattled on the Plains of Abraham. It was one of the most splendid achievements ever accomplished by an army of men; when looked at in the cold light of history, it seems like a miracle: but it was made just possible by the cowardly panic of the French guards.

Montcalm informed

Montcalm might indeed have supposed that the English had wings! He still occupied his camp at Beauport; and when informed by his pickets that the besiegers were drawn up in battle array at the summit of the heights, he treated the matter with indifference. When further assurances were brought him, he still remained incredulous. "It can be but a small party, come to burn a few houses and retire," he exclaimed; but he was soon convinced of the truth of the reports. "Then," he cried, "they have at last got to the weak side of

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this miserable garrison: we must give battle and crush them before mid-day." With his usual prompt decision, he instantly gave orders to form for battle outside the walls of Quebec.

Montcalm prepares for battle

The French were superior in numbers; but in troops worth anything for fighting, the English were at least two to one. Nearly every regiment on their side was composed of veterans: 4826 men in all. Montcalm's force at hand—much of the whole being scattered to guard other points—was about 2000 regulars and a horde of unreliable savages and poorly drilled Canadian peasants, the whole aggregating towards 6000 men. The English had one field-piece, which they succeeded in dragging up the precipice; and four guns captured from the French early in the morning, but which were of little service, as only one of them was brought into action. Each man had seventy rounds of ammunition. Montcalm's artillery consisted of three small pieces.

French and English strength

After the formations were made, each side spent nearly an hour in fruitless cannonading, which afforded Montcalm time to summon Bougainville and Vaudreuil to his aid. The latter had been left with 1500 men to guard the camp at Montmorency, and a portion of this force arrived during the progress of the battle, but not in time to affect its result. Had he acted promptly, he might perhaps have saved the day; but he had long been bitterly jealous of Montcalm, and refused to move until several messengers with peremptory orders had been dispatched to the camp. Bougainville

Montcalm's outliers fail him

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arrived just as victory was decided in favor of the British. A hasty retreat into the woods and swamps was all that saved his force from capture.

Montcalm's plan of battle

Checkmated by Wolfe

Wolfe formed his army facing the fortifications of the city, and extending across the heights. The right rested close to the edge of the cliff, where it could not be flanked; but the left was unprotected, and in danger of being overlapped by the longer line of the French. In fact, this was Montcalm's purpose, which he developed at the beginning of the battle. He expected to turn the British left flank, roll their line up like a piece of parchment, and drive it down the precipice. But Wolfe checkmated the movement by sending Townshend to that part of the field with Amherst's battalion and the Royal Americans, who were formed at a right angle with the main line, extending back to the verge of the cliff. This gave a double front on the left, like two faces of a hollow square, and made it impossible to flank that portion of the line. Such formations were permissible then, when the range of guns was seventy-five to one hundred and fifty yards; but if attempted against modern rifles, the troops would be exposed to a deadly enfilading fire.

Division commanders

Moncton was given command of the right wing and Murray of the left; but the latter was brought into the centre by the subsequent movement of Townshend to the left. As the heaviest fighting was expected to occur on the right, Wolfe took his station there. This brought him face to face with Montcalm, who was on the left of the French line.

The two commanders were so close together that they could easily distinguish one another, and almost hear their respective orders as they were issued. Montcalm was mounted; Wolfe, having no horse, directed the movements of his troops on foot. As usual, he discarded the sword, and went into battle with only a cane in his hand.

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Montcalm and Wolfe in battle

Finding that his requests for reinforcements were unheeded, and becoming impatient of further delay, Montcalm brought on the battle by ordering forward 1500 Indian and Canadian riflemen, who, screened by a copse, some standing corn, and the unevenness of the ground, opened a fire which proved fatal to a number of British officers. This was quickly followed by a general advance along nearly the whole French line, the troops firing obliquely at the extremities of the British formation as they rushed forward with shouts. This movement was unwise and badly conducted, and resulted in very little execution. For some time the English troops had been lying down, by order of the commander, who did not wish to risk the lives of his soldiers unnecessarily. The fire of the French therefore passed harmlessly over their reclining columns. But when the enemy had come within forty yards of their position, they sprang up and delivered volleys so close together that the sound was like one tremendous crash. French officers afterward declared that when the sheeted flame burst into their faces, followed by the simultaneous roar of the musketry, it seemed to them like the shock of artillery.

Montcalm's first onset

Ill conducted

Terrific English discharge

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That one frightful discharge settled the fortunes of the day! It strewed the plain with dead and wounded French soldiers, and sent the survivors flying back in disorder to their own lines. Thereafter their fire was delivered only in broken and irregular platoons. All unity and every semblance of military formation was lost. Their officers could not drive them into the ranks or direct their movements with any degree of regularity. Montcalm, himself desperately wounded, and deprived of his second in command, who had fallen under the first withering blast, dashed back and forth along his columns, encouraging, threatening, and appealing to his soldiers, but without avail. The panic was supreme. And yet it could hardly be called a panic in the ordinary sense of the word. The soldiers were dumbfounded, bewildered, dazed, by that tremendous burst of flame and the succeeding rain of lead. After the first recoil, they did not fly like troops that are terror-stricken: they stood amazed as if incapable of reasoning effort. They fired mechanically, at random, without aim. It was an army that had lost its mind from such terror as it had never before experienced.

French ranks hopelessly broken

Frightful English fire paralyzes them

By the time the smoke had cleared away, the British had reloaded their pieces; when Wolfe, placing himself at their head, gave the order to charge with the bayonet. Before that weapon, then so dreaded, it was not unusual for the best troops to recoil; again and again the British regulars did so before the Continentals in the Revolution. The English did not go forward with a rush,

English charge bayonets

but their movement was like the roll of a solid wave of flame. Firing by columns as they advanced, the carnage wrought in the dismayed mass of French was terrible. Nothing could resist the progress of the British regiments. The force of their collision was like the shock of an earthquake. Even before they came quite in touch of the bayonets, the French recoiled from the advancing line of steel, and were driven back in helpless rout. A number of regiments, especially the Canadians, fled in the wildest confusion. It was no longer possible to keep them in line of battle; they shrank everywhere from contact with the British bayonets and the desolating fire of the musketry.

French break before bayonet charge

Wolfe was beginning to feel the glow and enthusiasm of certain victory, when a bullet struck him in the wrist. Binding his handkerchief over the wound, he continued to advance with the troops. No one yet knew that the commander was hurt. A moment later he was stricken in the groin; but this wound he also concealed, and retained his place at the head of his charging columns. Then came the fatal shot—aimed, it is alleged, by a deserter—which struck him fairly in the breast. Now he knew that his presentiment was to be realized. The end had come. Still he thought nothing of himself; his mind was filled with the idea of victory and success. "Support me," he said in a low tone, to an officer near him; "let not the brave fellows see me drop. The day is ours—we must keep it." Tenderly he was borne to the rear to die.

Wolfe mortally wounded

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Wolfe's fall unknown

In the excitement of the battle the soldiers did not notice the fatal calamity. Even those who were nearest to him supposed the commander had withdrawn to his proper place behind the ranks; and they rushed forward with renewed energy, as under the eye of the chief to complete the victory. Moncton was hard hit about the same time, and the command devolved on Townshend, as the next in rank. Murray, in the centre, was still unhurt, and to him was due the final breaking up of the French army. Montcalm, with desperate energy, had succeeded in rallying several of his regiments, when Murray charged them at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets. They wavered and fell back, when the Highlanders, drawing their claymores, completed the rout. The French fled in dismay from these gleaming weapons, and their shattered regiments withdrew to the security of the fortifications. About this time Montcalm was mortally wounded, and carried into the city.

Murray finishes his work

Montcalm mortally wounded

At the eleventh hour, Vaudreuil with his 1500 Canadians came reluctantly upon the field of battle; but when these troops saw what had taken place, they fled in the direction of Montreal. It was at this juncture also that Bougainville, approaching and observing the conditions by which he was confronted, ordered a retreat to avoid a capture; and his troops, as before told, hurriedly withdrew into the woods and swamps of the direction whence they had come. The victory was won; the British were in full possession of the field.

His reinforcements too late

The blow that assured the final downfall of New France had been struck.

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But the victory had not been gained without losses that were lamentable. The British counted 600 killed and wounded, while those who fell on the side of the French numbered vastly more. These are the features that cast a gloom over every victory. Among the prominent officers wounded, besides Moncton, were Carleton and Barré. In spite of his own hurt, the latter faithfully attended his beloved commander during the last painful moments of his life. After Wolfe had been carried to the rear, they gave him water to quench the thirst caused by the loss of blood, and then he sank into the stupor of approaching death. As his head reclined on the arm of his friend, he was aroused by the cry, "They run! They run! See how they run!" "Who run?" asked the dying hero, looking up with an expression of intense anxiety. "The French," replied Colonel Barré: "they are giving way everywhere." At this announcement a look of intense satisfaction overspread his face; but even in the supreme moment his first thought was of duty. "Go, one of you, my lads," he said faintly, to those around him, "to Colonel Burton. Tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to the river Charles, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then for a moment he lay still and silent, as if contemplating the events that had just occurred; when, turning slightly upon his side, a shudder passed through his frame, and with the exclamation, "Now, God

Losses in battle of Quebec

Wolfe's last moments

His death

be praised, I die in peace!" he breathed his last. It was the death of a hero.

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Montcalm

Montcalm was in every way a worthy competitor of Wolfe. He was the ablest of all the French generals who had served in America; and while some indelible stains of cruelty attach to his name, they should be attributed to the imperfect civilization of the times rather than the natural disposition of the man. He was brave almost to the point of rashness, and as a rule generous to his enemies. His abilities were of nearly the first order; and had he received from his government the support he had a right to expect, and to which he was entitled, New France would not *that* day have become a memory of the past. Wounded early in the action, he treated the hurt with indifference, remaining on the field until the very last. In a final effort to rally a body of Canadian fugitives, in a copse near the gate of St. John, he received his mortal wound. Whether the shot was fired by friend or foe is not known. Like Wolfe, he may have died by the hand of a traitor.

Dying hours

He was carried within the city, and on being told by the surgeon that he could not live, exclaimed, "I am glad of it!" Like his gallant opponent, he felt that he could not survive the disgrace of the defeat. In a moment he inquired, "How long shall I survive?" On being told that he could not live more than ten or twelve hours at the utmost, he exclaimed, "So much the better! then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Then, to a council of war assembled in his room, he pointed out that all the French forces in the vicinity might be assembled at the capital within twelve hours, in time to crush the English forces before they could intrench. This course he urged, having the interest and honor of his country at heart to the last; but his counsel went unheeded. Even the chief officers under him, and indeed the entire army, were so disheartened and panic-stricken by the results of the morning, as to be incapable of performing their duty.

Montcalm's last counsels unheeded

When Ramsey, the commandant of the garrison, asked Montcalm's advice concerning the defense of the city, the general replied, "To your keeping I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." He then wrote a letter to the British commander, entreating his generous consideration of the French prisoners; after which, as a faithful Catholic, he surrendered himself to the ministrations of the church. At five o'clock the next morning, just as the light of a new day was beginning to break, he breathed his last. Wolfe having just preceded him into that land of mystery where all anger and enmity must be forgotten in larger knowledge and emancipation from earth, it gratifies the heart to imagine that he was the first to greet his late antagonist and welcome him to the joys of eternal peace.

His death

Quebec was strongly fortified, and might have resisted every effort of the English to storm the walls until reinforcements could have been assembled under Bougainville, and from Montreal;

Quebec still strong

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yet on the very day of the battle, Vaudreuil ignominiously wrote Ramsey, on whom the command had devolved, not to risk an assault, but to surrender as soon as his provisions were exhausted. There were French troops enough within reach to overwhelm the English, as Montcalm had shown. They were troops which he himself had sent away, under the belief that the assailants were about to abandon the siege; and they might easily have been recalled in time to save the city. But at a council of war, assembled during the night, only one officer, a captain of artillery named Fiedmont, voted against surrender. Probably one deciding reason was that the Canadian militia, peasants with no feeling of loyalty to France and no reason for feeling any, refused to shed their blood or make other sacrifices any longer.

French yet able to save Quebec

Reasons for discouragement

Accordingly, on the 17th of September, 1759,—the fourth day after the battle,—the white flag was hoisted, and the city passed into the possession of the English. The terms of capitulation provided that during the continuance of the war, the inhabitants should enjoy the same civil rights that had been accorded to them by their home government—they really received much more; and the future administration of the province, with rare exceptions, continued to recognize this principle. In fact, the government subsequently established and maintained in Canada was more liberal than that accorded by England to her own colonies; and this was one of the causes that when the English provinces rebelled against the tyranny of their own

They surrender it

Privileges accorded Canadian French

Why Canada would not revolt in 1775

mother country, Canada remained loyal to the government of the conquering nation. Of course another was that the inhabitants were too few, too backward and too unused to initiative, and with social and industrial needs too undeveloped to be injured by the British system.

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The capitulation of Quebec was hailed with demonstrations of joy throughout England and America. Cities were illuminated and bonfires blazed from every hill. The natural feeling of despondency which had swept over England after the publication of Wolfe's gloomy dispatches gave way to a universal burst of joy, saddened however by the melancholy death of the youthful hero. When people heard the story of the battle, and of that marvelous ascent to the Heights of Abraham, it seemed as if they were listening to the fabled deeds of the warriors of old. They were amazed at the accomplishment of their own soldiers. The name of Wolfe was on every tongue. His portrait, showing the delicate, girlish features, was painted and engraved and multiplied by thousands, while his fame rang in song and story throughout the land. He was regarded as a model for all heroes; and the spirit of romance surrounding his life and death still renders his name one of the most beloved and popular of the British generals. His remains were removed to England, where a monument was erected in his memory in Westminster Abbey. The Massachusetts Assembly voted a marble statue in his honor, and a column was set up on the spot where he fell. Afterward an obelisk, sixty feet

Jubilation over Quebec

Enthusiasm over Wolfe

His honors

in height, was erected by the government in the public gardens at Quebec, and generously dedicated to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm.

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Pitt's disclaimer

As for Pitt, the result had justified his confidence in the genius of the commander. When Parliament assembled, the great statesman modestly put aside the praises that were showered upon him. Let all the glory, he said, be ascribed to Providence and the representative young Englishman who had been the instrument of its achievement. "The more a man is versed in business," declared Pitt, "the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere." It is true that fortune often makes terrible havoc with the soundest plans and selection of agents; but even Providence never found a more capable helper than William Pitt.

Townshend leaves Murray to hold Quebec

Townshend, as the ranking officer, received the capitulation of Quebec; but, doubtful of ability to hold out against the assaults of the French during the winter, and not caring to risk his reputation in so uncertain an issue, left a garrison of 5000 men under Murray, and sailed back to England. As winter approached, the fleet also departed, to avoid being frozen up in the St. Lawrence. This left Murray in a very precarious situation, and came near resulting in the recapture of Quebec by the French the following spring.

After the fall of the city, the main body of the French retired to Montreal, where Levis assumed command as next in rank to Montcalm. This officer was almost the equal of his late superior in enterprise and genius, and quickly assembled a force of ten battalions of regulars, besides about six thousand Canadians and a considerable body of Indians. The entire body aggregated nearly 15,000 men, but they were loosely held together, hard to control, and without heart or hope. Levis resolved to recover Quebec before the English could throw additional troops into the city, and he accordingly made a reconnoissance of the place in force during the winter; but he found General Murray so active and vigilant, and every point so thoroughly guarded, that he abandoned the idea of a winter campaign, and postponed the enterprise until spring, when he had assurance of the co-operation of a powerful French fleet.

Levis plans to recover Quebec

The ships which had escaped up the river were now under his command, and could be utilized as soon as the river was clear of ice. Among them were several frigates and other vessels, constituting a very respectable squadron. By the middle of April the ice had disappeared, and Levis immediately set out on his expedition. Within ten days he arrived with his army and fleet at Point au Tremblé, and soon afterward occupied a strong position on the Heights of Abraham, near Sillery. The battle of the Heights was to be fought again, with results directly the opposite of what they had been on the previous occasion.

Occupies the Heights of Abraham

By this time Murray's army of 5000 had been reduced by scurvy and the hardships of the winter to less than 3000 effective troops, many of whom were unfit for service by reason of their sufferings. But Murray, sometimes as rash as he was brave,

Murray's losses

1760

marched out with his debilitated and inferior force to met Levis' army of between 10,000 and 15,000 men, supported by the fleet. There could be but one result. A fierce encounter took place, during which Murray lost nearly a thousand men, or one-third of his force; when, finding himself outflanked and about to be surrounded, he withdrew the remnant of his army within the fortifications. In this affair the French loss is supposed to have been about 300; but Murray, anxious to find an apology for his defeat, placed the number at more than 2000. So precipitate was the retreat that the British were compelled to abandon their artillery; and the garrison, now reduced to about 2200 men, was in an exceedingly precarious condition.

Second battle at Heights of Abraham

Disastrous English defeat

To add to their perplexities, a French squadron of six frigates sailed up the St. Lawrence and anchored before the city. The loss of the place seemed inevitable; but Murray set to work with commendable energy to strengthen the works, and prepare if possible to hold out until succor came. Not only every man in the garrison was utilized, but the women and children of the native population, as well as old men and cripples, were required to do what they could. The town was transformed into a beehive of industry; the French population working as faithfully as the English soldiers, for they dreaded a massacre by the Indians if captured. Levis meanwhile had been making preparations for a regular siege; but it was the 10th of May before his batteries were mounted and ready to play on the fortifications.

French invest Quebec

1760

By that time Murray had strengthened his works and planted a number of new batteries in advantageous positions; and, opening with these, he soon silenced a number of the enemy's guns. But timely relief came from another source. Lord Colville, in command of the British fleet for the North American station, having observed the movements of the French frigates, and divining their purpose, followed them up the St. Lawrence and captured them as they lay in the river, in full view of Levis and his army. The French commander, amazed at this daring achievement, and fearing the advent of another hero like Wolfe, abandoned his artillery and stores as a prize to the English, and fled to Montreal. There the Marquis de Vaudreuil, as governor of Canada, assumed command, and concentrating all the remaining forces of the province, prepared to make a last stand for his country's possessions in America.

Murray holds off Levis

Colville captures French fleet

Levis flies

Final French stand at Montreal

Early in the spring of 1760, Amherst assembled an army of 10,000 men on the Mohawk, and set out for Montreal by way of Oswego. This was like going all around London to get at St. Paul's; for Amherst was already in possession of the lakes and water-ways on the direct route northward, as far as the Isle au Noix, and he could have reached Montreal as soon as he did Oswego. But this officer, so cautious in all his movements, no doubt deemed it wise to place the western stations under British control before moving on the central position; that the French might not be able to secure reinforcements from that quarter. Embarking at

Amherst's final campaign

1760

Amherst moves on Montreal

Oswego, he sailed down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, losing a few men in the passage of the rapids, and capturing the French post at Ogdensburg on the way.

Surrender of all Canada

On the 7th of September he arrived at Montreal, where he met the army of Murray, who had come up from Quebec; and the next day they were joined by General William Haviland with the forces from Crown Point. On his way down Haviland had captured Isle au Noix, St. John's, and Chambly; so that there now remained nothing to do but demand the surrender of Montreal. This event took place on the 8th, the same day. The capitulation included all of Canada, which, it was claimed, extended to the head-waters of the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois. Louisiana and the valley of the Mississippi were to be retained by the French. The private property and the religion of the inhabitants were respected, but no agreement for civil rights entered into the stipulations.

Rights granted to French a query

These, however, were granted afterward: England from the first pursued a generous course toward the people, and this won their loyalty and devotion. It is still a moot question whether it was not carried much too far: the permanent official recognition of the Roman Catholic establishment, giving it control of the taxes raised from its people for educational purposes, has given later generations a difficult problem to solve, nearly produced one rebellion, and seriously and increasingly menaces Protestant and Anglo-Saxon civilization in Canada.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PONTIAC'S WAR AND THE TREATY OF PEACE

1755–60

Rogers' Rangers

On the 13th of September, five days after the capitulation of Montreal, Major Robert Rogers was dispatched with a party of two hundred rangers to take possession of the French posts in the distant west, including Detroit. This command was the most famous single organization brought into existence by the exigencies of the Seven Years' War. At the beginning of that struggle, Rogers, who was a native of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, and had already gained a wide reputation as an Indian-fighter, was authorized by the English government to raise a regiment of border men as scouts and rangers on the frontiers. The boldest and hardiest youth of the colonies flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself in command of five companies of as brave fellows as ever shouldered a rifle. Putnam and Stark were officers.

Arms and dress

Each man carried a rifle, a hatchet, and a knife; and all were so expert in their use that they were regarded as in some sense doubly armed. The self-confidence begotten by this superiority made them almost invincible. Their garb, an imitation of Indian costume, was composed throughout of dressed deerskin, usually with the hair on the outside for warmth. Besides arms and ammunition, they carried their blankets in packs on their shoulders, so that the weight of each man's accoutrements was twice that of an ordinary soldier. Yet the strength and activity bred by their wild life enabled them to cover long distances in an incredibly short period of time, arousing an intense dread in their savage foes, who feared them above all other troops, and thought they were leagued with the powers of the unseen world, and could accomplish almost anything they wished.

1755-60

Rogers' Rangers: Indians think magically helped

At night they camped wherever the shades of evening overtook them, roasting their meat and sleeping in circles around their fires, Indian fashion, but carefully picketing the camps to prevent surprise. In winter they wore snow-shoes, gaining a speed over the frozen stretches equal to the fleetest of the northern warriors; and in their packs they carried skates for use on the icy lakes and rivers. They remained on the frontiers in winter as well as summer, their haunts being usually near the southern shore of Lake George. But they ventured also into Canada, and out to the far lands west of the southern Great Lakes.

Camps and habits

When the armies were inactive, the rangers separated into small parties and covered the whole northern frontier; but when a campaign opened they served in one or more compact bodies, and were always relied upon for the most dangerous enterprises. Some of their well-authenticated exploits are more wonderful than the imaginary deeds of the heroes of romance; and all along the borders of Lake George, as well as in the Mohawk

In war

Heroes of tradition

Valley, and throughout the New England frontiers, places are shown where the rangers fought desperate battles and won marvelous victories, frequently over numbers twice and thrice their own.

1760

Rogers' Rangers

Such were the men who now set out to march from Montreal to Detroit. They made their way up the St. Lawrence to its junction with Lake Ontario, in canoes and flat-bottomed boats; driving a herd of beef-cattle along the shore, because the party was too large to depend for food upon the wild game met on the way. The wonders of Niagara delayed them barely long enough to make the portage; but on reaching Presqu'isle, the modern Erie in Pennsylvania, Rogers landed his entire party, and marched south to Fort Pitt where Pittsburg now stands, receiving the submission of Forts Le Bœuf and Venango on the way.

Set out for French western posts

Having finished his business on the Ohio, and given instruction for improvements at Fort Pitt, Major Rogers returned to the lake, and resumed his romantic journey westward. All along the shores he found happy villages of Indians, living in comfort and plenty, with cornfields surrounding their lodges and game abundant and tame in the woods. Rogers pictured the country as an earthly paradise, and endeavored to make friends with all the savages he found. "We come," he said to them, "as friends, not as enemies. We have beaten the French in the country of the rising sun, and now we come to you as brothers." The savages were favorably impressed by the rangers' dress of hairy deerskin; but they had been filled

Move along Lake Erie

by the French with dislike and fear of the English, and besides did not wish the former ousted.

1760

While encamped at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where Cleveland now stands, the rangers were visited by an embassy from the great Ottawa nation, who said, "Pontiac is the chief and lord of this country: it is well that you wait until he can see you." The next day Pontiac himself came, arrayed in his robe of state and accompanied by a delegation of warriors. "How have you dared enter my country without my leave?" demanded the chief haughtily as he entered the presence of the commander of the rangers. Rogers replied that he came with no unfriendly designs against the Indians, but to remove the French whom they had conquered, and were now taking possession of all their posts in the west. The Indians would not be disturbed in any of their rights; on the contrary, the English desired their friendship, and would trade with them on even more liberal terms than they had ever received from the French.

Ottawas meet rangers at the Cuyahoga

Pontiac as Roderick Dhu

Rogers explains

The chief took a night to ponder over this doubtless familiar intelligence; the next morning he declared it his wish to be friendly with the English, so long as they treated him and his people justly. These were probably his true sentiments then; for he knew that the French were beaten, and that it was to his people's interest to make terms with the conquerors. He therefore gave his permission for Rogers and his men to go forward, and sent an escort of warriors to help drive the cattle along the beach. He also gave the white

Pontiac acquiesces

chief several bags of parched corn, smoked the pipe of peace with him, and accompanied him a day's march on the way, asking many questions as to how iron could be taken from the ground and fashioned into weapons, and how wool could be clipped from the backs of sheep and woven into cloth. He appreciated the advantages of civilization; but no conduct of the English could have prevented his seeing that they or the Indians must go.

1760

Pontiac seeks industrial information

Pontiac was then nearly or quite fifty, unusually dark, of medium height and powerful frame, and bore himself haughtily as became the freely elected king of the great Ottawa nation. He was the son of an Ojibway woman; and the Ottawas being in alliance with that tribe and the Pottawattamies, Pontiac became the head chief of the three, and wielded a power that was recognized from the Lakes to the Ohio.

His personality

The Ottawas were generally regarded as great cowards; a stigma given them by the fierce Iroquois, who in the seventeenth century drove them to the islands at the mouth of Green Bay, and afterwards beyond the Mississippi, where for a while they sought refuge among the Sioux. But returning at a later period to their former country on the peninsula of Michigan, they became celebrated both as warriors and hunters; and under the lead of Pontiac, and subsequently of Tecumseh, proved to be one of the most troublesome nations with whom the Americans had to deal.

The Ottawas

The Ojibways are noted as a warlike tribe from the earliest acquaintance of white men with that people. They waged successful war against the Foxes, the Iroquois, and the Sioux, and drove the latter from the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Red River of the North to the western plains, where they in turn forced their old enemies back into the wooded country east of the great river. The Ojibways were accustomed to fighting in the woods, where they were almost invincible; but they could not withstand the fierce onslaughts of the Sioux on the open plains.

1760

The Ojibways

The Pottawattamies were fierce warriors, but differed not materially in their general characteristics from the other tribes of the Algonquin race. Their dialect was among the rudest, barely subserving the necessary purposes of communication, and relating principally to their usual occupations of hunting, fishing, and fighting.

The Pottawattamies

These were the three tribes over whom Pontiac ruled as head chief. Their aggregate strength amounted to about three thousand warriors; but they occupied so extensive a region, and had such diverse interests, that even Pontiac, much less any other leader, could not induce them to act in concert for any length of time. A thousand warriors were perhaps as many as they ever brought into the field on any one occasion; but they also held in subjection, or controlled the policy of, a number of other tribes, so that their fighting capacity was considerably in excess of their own numbers.

Pontiac's confederacy

At Braddock's defeat

Pontiac was believed to have commanded the Ottawas who took part in Braddock's defeat; but as it was no longer to his interest to boast of that exploit, the fact could not be established. But he was unquestionably a bold warrior, a crafty savage, and a natural-born leader of men. Rogers realized the value of the chief's friendship on arriving at the mouth of the Detroit River, where four hundred savages had formed an ambuscade to cut off his party. Pontiac, knowing this, went in advance, and notifying them that he wished to be on friendly terms with the English, ordered them to disperse; which they did, and Rogers proceeded on his way unmolested.

1760

Pontiac forbids ambushing Rogers

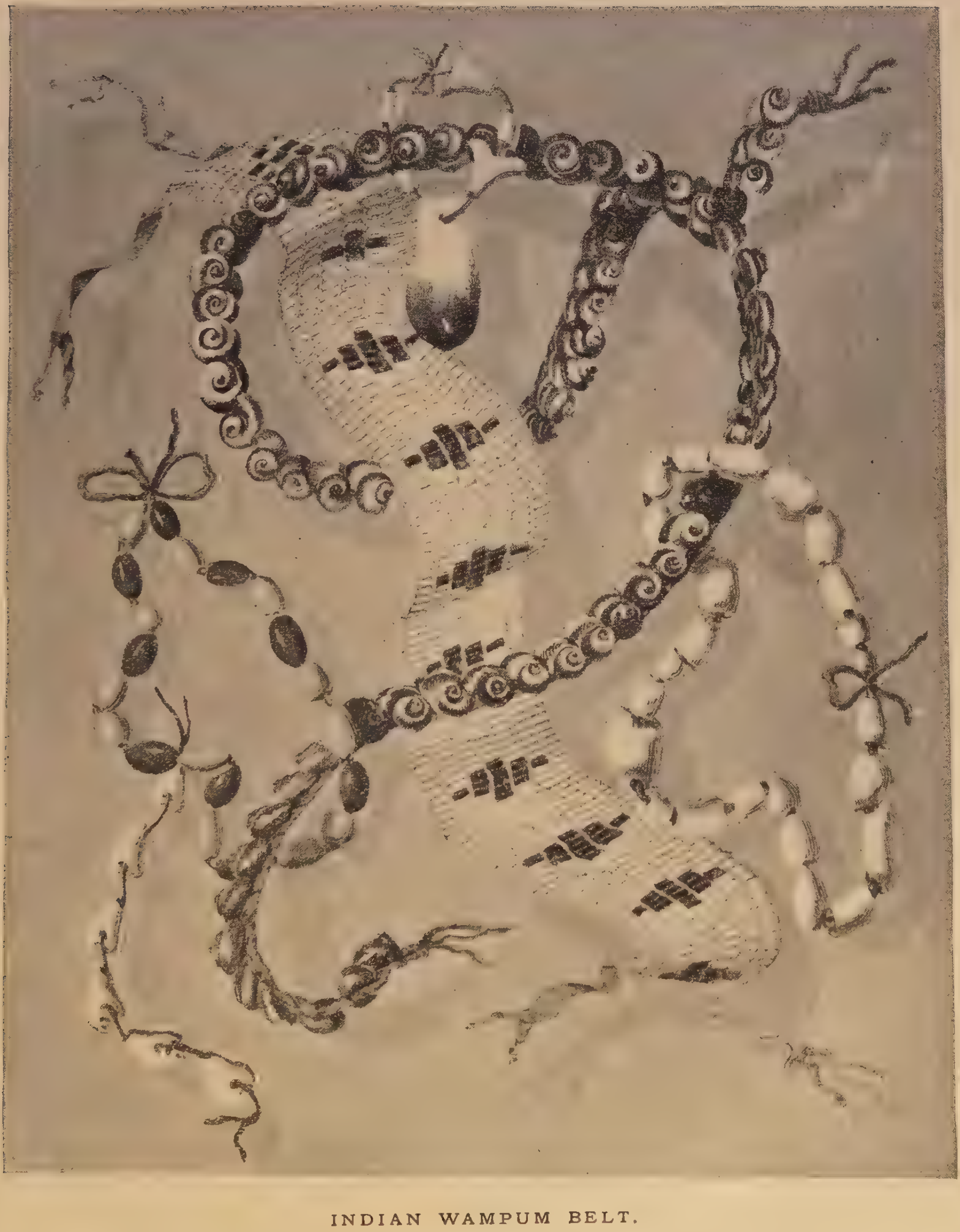
The Detroit River—the *détroit* or narrows, according to its French meaning—is about twenty-two miles long, and varies from less than half a mile to three miles wide. The current is strong and the channel deep. At this time it was bordered on either side by natural parks of woodland, set with little clearings and tiny fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables, cultivated of course by the women and children. The luxuriant grasses, often higher than a man's head, and so thick as to render progress very difficult; the tame wild animals, which grew fat on them; the delicious wild-fowl of the rivers and lakes, with their nests affording in abundance the delicacy of fresh eggs; the numerous species of fine fish, most of them then new to the whites, but now familiar; the beautiful tobacco plant, emblem of peace among all the savage tribes of America, ornamenting the gardens and the spaces around the lodges, all showed a region overflowing with the best resources of nature.

The Detroit River region

Rich natural products

The village of Detroit, and the stockade fort which the French had established there, lay some 1760 distance up the river, nearer Lake St. Clair. It was the most populous French settlement in the **Old Detroit** Northwest, containing about sixty families, located on both sides of the river, and made up principally of traders with Indian wives. This brought them into the most intimate relationship with the savage tribes around, and guaranteed their permanent friendship, they esteeming it an honor to be allied with the superior race. As to the Indian belles, **French and Indian intermarriage** they were more than ready to encourage the advances of the gallant Frenchmen. Their life with even the rougher specimens of civilized men held an incomparably larger degree of freedom and comfort, and far less menial and crushing drudgery, than with men of their own race. There were also some grosser reasons, appealing strongly to a barbarous race with whom love was little more than animal sex-attraction, and sentiment mostly a stranger. For obvious reasons, jealousy, of the current civilized stripe, did not enter as a disturbing factor into the transactions of the Indian Cupid.

The farms were laid off with the utmost regularity, each measuring about eight hundred feet **Farms** along the river and extending back into the forest above three quarters of a mile, making some eighty acres. This was enough for the comfort and support of each family, and as much as in the absence of large near markets it paid to cultivate. All the fruits and cereals suited to the climate were



INDIAN WAMPUM BELT.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

produced in abundance, cattle as well as swine and sheep were raised, dairying was a specialty, and of course the weaving of cloth was carried on. The Indian women and girls were apt pupils of their French lords and fathers. Meantime the men grew affluent in commerce with the savages. Silver was abundant, and numerous golden doubloons were hidden away in safe retreats. Frenchmen and savages alike had come to find necessities of existence in the conveniences and luxuries of civilization, only to be had by trade.

1760

Farming among Detroiters

News had spread far and wide of the coming of the English, and a vast concourse of red people had collected from the surrounding country to witness their arrival. The commandant of the French garrison had already been informed of the terms of the surrender of Canada, and he immediately transferred possession of the fort and the public property to Major Rogers. The savages were astonished, as the French garrison was much the larger: they could not understand why an army should surrender without a fight to a smaller one, unless the latter possessed some secret charm to overcome their enemies, which accordingly they attributed to the English.

Detroit surrendered to English

Indian explanation

But Pontiac, a chieftain of experiences, knew better: he knew that the surrender of Detroit was a legitimate result of the defeat of the French in the northeast, and he knew what English conquest meant in the overrunning of Indian lands and expulsion of their owners. Besides, the Indians had blent with the French in blood, spoke their

Pontiac's fear and dislike of English

language to a limited extent, had learned their customs, and preferred them to the English. The latter were too exacting and too haughty; they did not associate with the Indians on terms of equality, like the French. His mind was fully made up to resist their domination. He knew nothing of their tremendous national strength. His knowledge was mainly of their border settlers; and he knew that they were not invincible, for he had seen their greatest army beaten and almost annihilated. He lent a willing ear also to the Canadian traders, who hated the English as sincerely as Pontiac did, and hoped that Indian hostility might accomplish what the French armies had not in keeping them out. They told him that his father, the French king, was old and had been asleep; but that now he had awakened, and his great war canoes had crossed the ocean and were on their way up the St. Lawrence to drive the English back into their own country.

1760-2

Pontiac nurses grudge against English

Encouraged by French

This information gave Pontiac new hope. He pondered over it in the silent forest and in the privacy of his wigwam. Like the prophets of old, he conferred in secret with his familiar spirits; he fled to the wilderness of his own thoughts. For nearly two years he maintained a gloomy silence, pondering and calculating; and during this time none were bold enough to interrupt the musings of the grim and melancholy savage. At length his plans were matured. All the allied tribes were to be notified, and on the same day the English garrisons throughout their territory should be struck,

Two years of planning

the soldiers slaughtered and the forts reduced to ashes; then, with French help the Indians would drive the entire English populations into the sea. For himself, Pontiac reserved the task of obliterating the post at Detroit.

Pontiac's plan matured

The English had meanwhile erected a fort of considerable strength on rising ground within the limits of the present city, commanding an unobstructed view of the river for more than nine miles. A space twelve hundred feet in circumference was inclosed by palisades twenty-five feet high, with bastions at the corners and protecting block-houses at the gateways. A few pieces of light artillery from their port-holes covered every way of approach. Within were rows of log-houses, parallel with the sides of the fort; in the centre was a square or plaza, where the garrison was assembled daily for drill. The houses constituted the barracks for the soldiers, and their walls were likewise pierced with port-holes, for a citadel in case of an attack within.

Fort at Detroit

The place was so strong and difficult of approach that Pontiac had no hope of taking it by assault, nor was there any sense in losing lives if he could gain it by ruse. The garrison consisted of about one hundred and twenty men and eight officers; the commandant was Colonel Henry Gladwin, a British officer of well-known courage and watchfulness. Pontiac made himself acquainted with Gladwin, and paid him frequent visits of state and friendship, not only to allay suspicion, but to gain familiarity with the fortifications. In the

Strength and garrison

Gladwin and Pontiac

river in front of the fort lay two armed sloops; but 1762-3 these were not much feared, as they were poorly manned and their armaments were inferior.

At length, about midwinter of 1762-3, all his plans being matured, Pontiac first informed the three tribes under his immediate sovereignty of his purpose, and then dispatched messengers bearing the red-stained tomahawk and a belt of wampum to every tribe between the Lakes and the Ohio, and from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi. The Iroquois were also approached; but only the Senecas listened favorably. The rest did not care to join their old enemies and subjects against their old friends the English. As usual in such cases, however, loyalty to the Indian cause kept the others from revealing the plot. All the Algonquin tribes in this vast region, as well as the Wyandots and some of the southern tribes, joined in it. It was the most powerful combination of savages that had yet arisen against the English; and its results would have been more serious than they were, if Pontiac could have enforced his orders throughout the entire domain of his influence.

Pontiac summons tribes to his help

Acceptances

The time for the uprising was fixed at a certain change of the moon in the following May. Each tribe was to dispose of the garrisons in its own territory, after which they were all to unite and sweep over the eastern settlements. The plan for the capture of the forts was entirely feasible, and succeeded in nearly every instance; for a majority of them were garrisoned by small squads of men, ill supplied, poorly prepared to resist an

Detailed plan of conspiracy

attack, and entirely without suspicion of any hostile intent on the part of the savages.

1762-3

The first intimation of the intended uprising was imparted to Ensign Holmes, in command of Fort Miami, on the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. A friendly Indian informed him that the local tribe had received the red tomahawk and war belt, and were preparing to attack the station. He immediately summoned their chiefs to a conference, and accused them of treachery in preparing to attack the English in time of peace. They admitted the plot, but claimed that they had been persuaded into it against their will; and pleaded for a renewal of the former conditions of friendship. Holmes accepted their protestations as sincere, and wrote to Gladwin at Detroit:—

Pontiac's plot revealed

"Since my last letter to you, wherein I acquainted you with the bloody belt being in this village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it out to be true. Whereupon I assembled all the chiefs of this nation, and after a long and troublesome spell with them, I obtained the belt, with a speech, as you will see enclosed. This affair is very timely stop't, and I hope the news of peace will put a stop to any further troubles with those Indians who are the principal ones of setting mischief on foot. I send you the belt with this packet, which I hope you will forward to the General."

Holmes hugs himself on ending it

Gladwin immediately sent the belt to General Amherst, who, however, treated the matter with indifference, claiming that it was a trifling affair which would soon blow over. He did not know the 1762–3 able and subtle leader who stood at its head, one not easily discouraged. But Pontiac's plans having been discovered, he deemed it wise to wait a while and lull suspicion; so he sent out no more signals for the rest of the winter, and continued to court the friendship of the commander at Detroit. But most of the winter was spent in the seclusion of his lodge, some miles beyond the river on the Canada side.

Pontiac lets suspicion die

Toward the last of April 1763 he called a grand council, which convened on the river Écorces, not far from Detroit, on the 27th. It was attended principally by the chiefs of his own three tribes, but there were also representatives from most of the other nations expected to participate in the uprising. Pontiac addressed the council in that spirit of revengeful eloquence for which he was noted, referring to the English as "those dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting grounds and drive away the game." He reminded the assembled chiefs of the many indignities they had suffered at the hands of the English, and declared that the French were their friends, who stood ready to aid them in this enterprise. "Even now," he exclaimed, "the war canoes of our French father are on their way up the St. Lawrence, and they will cross the Great Lakes to assist us in taking the scalps of the English." Whether or no he believed this *canard* of the traders, his hearers certainly did, on his word and from its accordance with their own desires;

His grand council

Inflammatory harangue

and in burning passion they resolved to lift the bloody tomahawk and screech the war-cry through the forest.

1763

Pontiac, like many another statesman, tried also to unify them on the basis of reactionism. He told them that they must re-adopt the customs and weapons of their ancestors, and put away those which they had acquired from the white people. He asserted that a Delaware Indian had been admitted to the presence of the Great Spirit, who had imparted this information to him; and that the Manitou of the red people had also sent word to his children that they must abstain from the use of fire-water, and discard the implements of the hated race from across the sea.

Pontiac's reactionary statesmanship

The 7th of May was fixed upon as the time for the blow, and runners were sent to all the tribes notifying them to be ready for their share. On the first of the month the king visited Gladwin, with sixty of his principal warriors, who danced the peace-dance in the midst of the public square. This was to familiarize the warriors with the interior arrangement of the fort, as well as to allay suspicion. A day or two afterward he called a final council of a hundred chiefs, who were carefully instructed in the details of the plot. Pontiac and his sixty chosen warriors were to repair to the station, with their guns shortened and concealed under their blankets, and demand an interview with the commandant. Being admitted, the chief was to address the assembled council, holding in his hand a belt of wampum, white on one side

Plan for seizing Detroit fort

and green on the other; and his turning of the belt with the green side up was to be the signal for a general massacre. His band were to butcher the officers of the garrison, while those who lounged about the gates and on the outside were to attack the soldiers and citizens.

1763

Plan for seizing Detroit fort

During the next few days a number of Indians applied to the blacksmith of the garrison to borrow files and saws; but when questioned as to their use, either evaded a direct answer or pretended not to understand. But on the 5th the wife of an English soldier visited an Indian village to buy venison and maple sugar, and observed most of the warriors engaged in shortening their gun-barrels with these files and saws, they being too thick-witted to see that it might arouse suspicion. She reported this on her return, and it was at once seen that mischief was on foot; for the length of a rifle-barrel was then believed to add materially to its effectiveness, and the Indians could have no object in shortening their weapons except to conceal them.

Suspicion aroused

The garrison was instantly notified and placed on the alert; and the following day the whole conspiracy was revealed by an Ojibway girl, who paid frequent visits to Gladwin, and like all heroines of romance, is said to have been very beautiful. During that afternoon she made one of her accustomed calls; and as evening approached and the gates were about to be closed, she lingered, and seemed melancholy, embarrassed, and reluctant to go. Gladwin observed this striking difference

Plot revealed by Gladwin's mistress

from her usual manner, and pressed her for an explanation. She hesitated in dread of consequences to herself; but was at length prevailed upon to reveal the plot and detail.

1763

It is alleged that after the failure of the conspiracy, her betrayal of her people was discovered, and she was carried before Pontiac, who beat her cruelly with a lacrosse racket club. Her life, however, was spared, and she lived to be an old woman; meeting her death at length by falling into a kettle of boiling maple-sap while intoxicated—a very unromantic ending for so thrilling a story.

Indian girl who betrayed Pontiac's plot

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 7th, Pontiac and sixty stalwart warriors appeared and entered the fort, all decorated with feathers and paint, and wearing their blankets closely wrapped about their persons. At the same time a large body of savages, estimated at from six hundred to one thousand warriors, assembled in and near the gates; each, like his leader, enveloped in a heavy blanket. This alone would have aroused suspicion even had there been no other cause, for the day was too warm for clothing of that character.

Pontiac enters fort to spring the trap

Pontiac had no sooner entered the fort than he observed that his treachery had been discovered. The entire garrison was drawn up with loaded muskets, while each officer wore two pistols and a sword in his belt. The artillery was placed so as to sweep the gates, each piece loaded well up to the muzzle with grape and canister, and the men standing with lighted matches in their hands ready for instant service. The arch-conspirator was

Sees that plot is discovered

1763

Pontiac in Gladwin's clutches

greatly agitated: he knew but too well what treatment would be meted out to the white man if the conditions were reversed, and expected a similar fate for himself and his warriors; but they controlled their emotions, and went cheerfully, but with apparent timidity, to the places assigned them. "Why," said the chief to Gladwin, "do I see so many of my father's young men standing in the street with their guns?" The commander replied carelessly that he had ordered them out for exercise, according to his daily custom. But Pontiac knew better, and as he and his people took their seats, they cast furtive glances around as if apprehensive of a bloody surprise.

On the verge of outbreak

Pontiac at last arose to speak, and seemed still disposed to carry out his prearranged plan; for he nervously fingered the belt of wampum, and at one time made a motion as if to turn the green side up. But a gesture from Gladwin brought forth a roll of drums and a rattle of fire-arms, and each savage sprang to his feet, quivering in apprehension of an immediate assault. The colonel, however, motioned them to be seated again, and delivered a short talk, assuring them that he and his government desired the friendship of the Indians, so long as they were deserving of confidence; but that any act of treachery would be visited by instant and fearful vengeance. The crestfallen warriors were then conducted beyond the gates, and admonished to return to their villages, a suggestion with which they immediately complied.

Pontiac and his band let loose

Gladwin was a frontier-officer of the first rank; brave, cool, vigilant, and resourceful. He is not lightly to be censured or his judgment impugned. Yet in this case he made a dreadful mistake, and unspeakable blood and horrors throughout the settlements paid for it. Knowing the range and personal effectiveness of Pontiac's power, he should have seen at once that such a plot could not have been confined to Detroit, but must embrace a wide region; and that even though balked at Detroit, the mighty chief would certainly spring it. Pontiac ought never to have been allowed to leave the fort alive on this occasion, until the settlements far and wide had been thoroughly warned and put in a posture for defense. Though he had come to do murder, he should not have been murdered; but he should have been seized with a number of his warriors, and all held as hostages until the danger was entirely averted. The loss of their leader would have paralyzed the conspiring tribes, and the horrible scenes in the West would have been spared, with store of good lives. The very calmness and courage of these bluff Anglo-Saxon officers, the somewhat contemptuous views of Indian force and policy bred by familiarity with them, led often to underestimating a given danger, and many other lives than theirs had always to pay the forfeit.

1763

Gladwin's terrible mistake

Should have seized Pontiac

The next day Pontiac returned with three of his chiefs, bringing a peace-pipe to Gladwin, and assuring him that "evil birds had sung lies in his ears." But the English commander knew where

Pontiac tries to dissemble

the evil birds nested, and the chief departed well 1763 assured in his own mind that stratagem would avail him no longer. On the following day he again appeared at the head of a large body of warriors, but found the gates closed and barred; and was informed by a sentinel that he alone could enter. Pretending to regard this as an affront, he instantly declared war; and his savage band, raising the war-whoop, fell upon and murdered two or three English families that lived outside of the palisades. Tearing off the scalps of their victims, they shook the bloody trophies in the faces of the soldiers in the fort; but the latter were ordered to withhold their fire, and make no hostile movement until the Indians made an assault.

Pontiac foiled, begins war

Nothing further occurred that day. Pontiac, however, began active preparations for a vigorous siege. He ordered his village removed to the Detroit side of the river, and established at the mouth of Parent's Creek (known as "Bloody Run" ever since the ambush and slaughter to be soon described), about a mile and a half northeast of the fort. There he concentrated all the warriors of his three tribes, who on the 10th surrounded the fortifications and began a determined assault. For six hours they poured in a steady fire from the cover of barns, out-houses, trees, and even depressions in the earth of sufficient depth to cover their persons; but their dread of the cannon prevented them from approaching near enough to do material execution. At the close of the day five of the soldiers had been wounded, but none of them

Removes near Detroit fort

Assails it with firearms

seriously. The garrison meanwhile returned the fire with spirit, but carefully avoided wasting their ammunition, discharging their pieces only when some dusky form came into view. During the day one of the cannon was loaded with red-hot iron spikes and fired into a cluster of outbuildings occupied by the Indians. The houses speedily burst into flames and were destroyed, and the savages grew more wary than ever of the big guns.

1763

Pontiac's treacherous negotiations

This was not discouraging; but Gladwin, having received information of the extent of the conspiracy,—which should have been obvious at the outset,—saw that thousands more might be let down upon him, and opened communications with Pontiac, hoping to make sure of some satisfactory terms. That crafty savage professed to welcome a conference, and asked to have Major Campbell, the second in command, come to him. The major, being personally acquainted with the chief, placed too much confidence in his assurances, and announced his willingness; a lieutenant named McDougal volunteered to accompany him. Gladwin doubted the good faith of Pontiac's request, and warned them to expect treachery; yet he did not feel justified in ordering them not to go. They accordingly departed to the Indian camp, where they were detained as prisoners. After a few weeks McDougal escaped; but Campbell was subsequently murdered by a savage, in revenge for the death of a kinsman who had fallen in battle.

Seizure of envoys

The second day after the commencement of the siege, Pontiac compelled the Wyandots to join his

1763

forces. The village of this people lay on the Canadian side of the river, a mile or two south of the fort, and they were able at that time to furnish not quite two hundred warriors. The village was an offshoot of the main tribe, which had long before been subdued by the Iroquois and incorporated into their confederacy; but at the time of the conquest a portion of the tribe had fled to Black River in Wisconsin, whence they had migrated to their present location. They were not a warlike people, being devoted principally to agriculture and the cultivation of tobacco, in which they carried on a considerable commerce with the white traders, whence they were known as the "tobacco Indians." They were very reluctant to join in the war, but were unable to resist Pontiac's commands.

The Wyandots

Forced into war by Pontiac

With this increase of force the chief now pushed his operations more vigorously; but during the afternoon of the 12th and the fore part of the night the garrison succeeded, by frequent sallies and the discharge of hot irons into the outbuildings, in removing all the cover within range of their artillery. Thereafter the savages did not dare approach near enough to do serious execution, but contented themselves by endeavoring to starve the garrison out. They also contrived to shoot blazing arrows into the roofs of the houses, which several times ignited; and the soldiers were compelled to be constantly on guard, both night and day, to prevent a general conflagration.

Detroit garrison drive away Indians

They were supplied with provisions by friendly Canadians, in boats under cover of darkness; but the savages themselves soon began to suffer for food. Expecting a speedy victory, they had prepared a stock only for a few days; and this, with their usual improvidence, was soon exhausted. They then resorted to robbing the Canadian farmers; who, on appealing to Pontiac for protection, were told by the chief that he was fighting for them as well as the Indians, and it was their duty to feed his warriors. But he promised them that theft should be stopped, and that in future he would make requisitions on them after the manner of the white people. The Canadians could only acquiesce; and the agreement was faithfully carried out on the part of the Indians. All future supplies were obtained in the form of requisitions, and paid for with vouchers drawn on birch-bark and signed with a rude figure of an otter, that being the emblem of the chief. It is asserted that all these vouchers, or promises to pay, were subsequently redeemed in peltries and other articles of barter, in spite of the fact that the Indians were beaten.

1763

Pontiac's commissary methods

Honors requisition vouchers

Gladwin had been informed that a fleet of boats was approaching along Lake Erie, with reinforcements and supplies for his posts and others; and to hurry them forward, as well as to give them warning of the conditions, he sent one of the schooners to meet them. This vessel, taking a straight course through the lake, missed the boats, which were coasting near the south shore. They accordingly entered the mouth of Detroit River unsuspicious of danger; and at night, while the men were preparing to encamp, they were fired upon by a party

Gladwin tries to warn reinforcing boats

Fails

of Wyandots in ambush, and about sixty of the party were killed or captured. Only two of the boats escaped, in one of which was Lieutenant Cuyler, the commander, and about forty men.

1763

The savages immediately took possession of the other boats, and concealing themselves in the bottoms of the vessels, compelled their prisoners to proceed up the river as if nothing had happened. They hoped in this manner to enter the fort by stratagem; but they were foiled in their effort by the bravery of one of the white men. As the boats came into view they were hailed with shouts of joy by the beleaguered garrison, who were on the point of throwing open the gates to admit their supposed friends, when one of the prisoners made a signal of warning. Instantly an Indian sprang upon him, and a fight ensued between the two. Others engaged in the melée on both sides; whereupon the garrison discovered to their amazement that the boats were swarming with armed savages, and that their friends were in fact prisoners. The boats were now allowed to drop down with the current out of reach of the guns of the fort, when the prisoners were landed and marched by a wide circuit to Pontiac's village. Some of the men escaped, others were tortured, and the remainder were surrendered at the termination of the war.

Indians set a decoy for Detroit

Foiled by brave captives

Meanwhile Gladwin's schooner had arrived at Niagara, bringing the first intelligence of the state of affairs at Detroit; and a day or two later Cuyler and his men also came in, with news of their disaster. A relief force was at once dispatched

First news sent from Detroit

in the schooner, which, making a quick voyage, came in sight of Detroit on June 23. But there it was becalmed, and being unable to make its way against the current, was compelled to anchor out in the river. That night a large party of Indians silently approached the vessel in canoes, under cover of darkness; but they were discovered in time. The men were silently called to their stations, the guns double-shotted with grape and canister; and when the Indians had approached to within a few yards of the little vessel, they were met by a tremendous explosion of artillery and musketry, bursting into their faces out of the bosom of the river. Several canoes were sunk, and about thirty savages killed or wounded, the rest flying in consternation back to land. They made no further attempts against the vessel.

1763

Relief sent to Detroit

Bloody repulse of Indians

It was several days, however, before the schooner could make her way up the river; as she passed the Wyandot village she poured a broadside into the lodges, nearly wrecking the entire village. These experiences so alarmed the Wyandots and the Pottawattamies that they sued for peace and exchanged prisoners with Gladwin, a number of the captured whites being thus saved from torture; but Pontiac, whose authority was still undisputed, compelled them to renew the war. He also obtained a few recruits of reckless Frenchmen from among the floating population of the Canadian villages, and continued hostilities with renewed energy and bitterness. The schooner had brought news of the ratification of the treaty of

Two of three chief tribes sue for peace

Pontiac compels them to retract

Paris, and the proclamation of peace between 1763 France and England; and Gladwin imparted this information to Pontiac, thinking it must incline him to peace. But that chief, wholly ignorant of the power of the nation he was fighting, believed that the Indians alone were able to drive the English from the continent, and would not withdraw.

Indians vainly try fire-rafts

The schooners were now a source of constant dread to the savages; for as they lay at anchor in front of the fort, they could bring their guns to bear on every part of the adjacent shores; and the Indians reasonably feared they might some day sail up the river and bombard their village. They therefore made repeated efforts to destroy the vessels by means of fire-rafts, built under the supervision of their French recruits and set adrift in the river. But the watchfulness of the crews foiled all their efforts: the dreaded ships lay safe at anchor, while the blazing rafts floated harmlessly by.

Dalzell and Rogers' rangers arrive

On the 29th of July two hundred and sixty of Rogers' rangers arrived from Niagara, in twenty-two barges, under command of Captain James Dalzell, a companion of Putnam in many daring adventures. As they passed up the river a dense fog settled down, and the Wyandot and Pottawattamie village, seizing the chance, opened a destructive fire on them, killing or wounding fifteen; which they could not return with any effect against the invisible foes.

Dalzell, like most Indian-fighters, was reckless from experience; and no sooner had he arrived at the fort than he proposed a night attack on Pontiac's camp. Gladwin, knowing the strength of the Indians and the cunning of their leader, objected; but Dalzell persisted, and Gladwin, reasoning that men trained in Indian warfare would not rush blindly into a foolhardy venture—the exact reverse of the fact,—finally gave his consent, though with reluctance. It was a dreadful mistake: adhering to his own judgment would have averted a shocking tragedy. Yet the venture might well have succeeded but that it had been revealed to Pontiac by some Canadian traders, who with fierce inner exultation prepared a terrible trap for his foes. Every tree and other place of concealment along the side of the road, all the way from within a few yards of the fort to the camp on the further side of Parent's Creek, covered an armed savage; a grand ambuscade more than a mile in length, from which the warriors could shoot down their enemy with sure aim and entire impunity.

1763

Dalzell plans night surprise of Pontiac's camp

Pontiac lays ambush for it

About two o'clock on the moonless morning of July 31, a picked body of men under Dalzell, with Rogers accompanying as a volunteer, issued from the gates and marched silently through the darkness, along the road leading toward the Indian camp. Two large bateaus accompanied them in the river, each armed with a double-shotted swivel in the bow. Not a shot was fired until the vanguard arrived at the frail bridge spanning the creek; when, just as they supposed their scheme about to be crowned with success, a murderous fire was poured into their faces from under the

Dalzell's night march

banks, killing nearly twenty men and wounding more than that number. More than half the men in the advance-guard fell, and the rest were thrown into a momentary panic. But Dalzell's voice was heard above the yells of the savages, urging the rangers to keep cool; and they instinctively obeyed. Quickly rallying, they rushed across the bridge; but no enemy was to be found there. The Indian camp was silent and deserted. The warriors were in the ambuscade; the women and children had been removed to a place of security.

1763

Dalzell's vanguard shot down

Find no foe

The rangers had nothing to do but to retreat; and this began the most disastrous phase of the engagement. To the blaze of the savage rifles from behind cover, which made a swiftly extinguished spot of light in the darkness, each a messenger of death, any attempt to respond was a mere waste of ammunition. It was a battle with phantoms; yet for a while the rangers stood their ground and fired at the flashes and sounds, with their long-famed courage. At length a panic seized even these grizzled veterans, since courage was fruitless, and they fled along the road in dismay. There were many individual acts of heroism, but they could not check the carnage and so did not restore the composure of the men. All who fell were instantly scalped, the savages closing in behind and following close upon the heels of the fugitives. Not all, however, were killed; many prisoners were taken, some to be reserved for the stake, others to serve the captors as slaves. The latter were saved in consequence of the humane orders issued

Disastrous retreat

Panic and slaughter

1763

by Pontiac, who wished to conciliate white feeling and secure sympathy and help; this saved many a life that would otherwise have been sacrificed.

Dalzell killed and mutilated

Dalzell seemed oblivious to every sense of fear. His voice was heard everywhere, and the panic did not pass beyond control until his fall. Twice had he been hurt, when, on turning back to rescue a wounded sergeant, he was shot dead. Instantly the savages tore off his scalp and cut out his heart, wiping the faces of their prisoners with the latter. Then Rogers assumed command, and collecting a few resolute spirits, formed a guard which kept the savages at bay in the rear; but the flashes of their guns still lighted the way in front and on the flanks.

Rogers takes command

Protects rear from a house-fort

Midway between the camp and the fort stood a large dwelling-house, in whose cellar a number of terror-stricken women and children had taken refuge. This building was soon filled with frightened soldiers, many of whom would have crowded into the cellar with the others had not the aged proprietor stood on the trap-door, gun in hand, and held them at bay. When Rogers came up, he threw his guard into the house and held it as a fort, beyond which the Indians dared not pass; and the remnant of the force made the rest of the way to the fortifications unmolested. But the house was quickly surrounded and its safety imperiled by a horde of savages, until the bateaus appeared and scattered them by a few discharges of grape-shot. Most of the whites' fatalities were at the banks of the creek, which has ever since borne the name of "Bloody Run." The Indian loss was small. They were greatly elated, and swarmed in larger numbers than ever around the fort; but from their dread of the cannon they maintained a respectful distance.

1763

During the night of the 4th of August, while one of the schooners sent to Fort Niagara with dispatches was returning up the river, the Indians nearly succeeded in capturing her. The crew consisted of but ten men and the captain, while the savages numbered more than three hundred; and they approached so skillfully that they were clambering up the sides before their presence was suspected, each carrying his scalping-knife between his teeth. But on hearing the alarm, the crew sprang to the gunwales with spears and hatchets, and laid about them so vigorously that in less than a minute they had killed or disabled more than a score of the assailants. Staggered for a moment, the savages were still in such overwhelming numbers that those behind pushed the others forward, until they were soon in full possession of the ship. At this instant the mate, either as a ruse or a genuine order, shouted down the hatchway to fire the magazine and blow the vessel up. A number of the savages understood English; they yelled to their companions, and the whole party sprang overboard and swam ashore. The schooner then proceeded on her way in safety to the fort, having lost no lives though several were badly cut.

Indians nearly capture schooner

Frightened off

The Indians now began to weary of the war, and to see its hopelessness. The season for their grand hunts was approaching; and they clearly perceived that the English, controlling the river, could bring in reinforcements and supplies indefinitely. Accordingly, on the 12th of October, all except the Ottawas sued for peace: the irreconcilable Pontiac would not allow his tribe to join the others. Gladwin replied that he was not authorized to make peace, but would join them in a truce until the proper authorities could be consulted. They agreed, immediately dispersed to their villages, and committed no other overt acts, virtually ending the war.

1763

Most of Pontiac's league sue for peace

The Ottawas held out until the last of the month, when a messenger arrived from the commandant of Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, notifying Pontiac that he could expect no help from the French, and advising him to make peace on the best terms he could get. His people acted upon this advice; but the chief went off sullenly into the Maumee country, where he endeavored to organize a new war-band among its tribes. But only a few of the younger braves, eager to distinguish themselves, flocked to his standard; and as these did not constitute a respectable army, no serious consequence resulted. They gradually melted away, and Pontiac was finally left without a following.

Ottawas follow suit on French desertion

He continued to sulk until the summer of 1766, when he met with other chiefs at Oswego and gave in his formal submission to Sir William Johnson. He then returned to the Maumee region in Ohio, and drifted thence westward to the region of the Illinois, and finally to the Mississippi.

Pontiac unable to raise outside army

1763

Death of Pontiac

After his defeat he became intemperate and quarrelsome; and in 1769 he was assassinated in the forest on the site of East St. Louis, by a Kaskaskian Indian, bribed to do the deed by a barrel of whiskey and the promise of an additional reward—which was never paid. His body was subsequently interred in the old Catholic cemetery in St. Louis, where the Southern Hotel now stands; a copper plate in the floor of its lobby marks his grave.

Plans for capture of other forts

It had been his purpose to have all the English posts attacked the same day, to prevent mutual warning or help; but his plans miscarried, and each place was assaulted on a different date. Two or three received warning, but most of them knew nothing of what was going on till the blow fell. Although he failed to accomplish his full intent, eight of the ten military posts embraced in his plan were captured, all by stratagem; and for a while the whole middle region from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi was given over to the dominion of the savages. These forts were Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanon, Michillimacinac, Presqu'isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango. Most of the garrisons were massacred, and revolting barbarities often enacted: on the dead who were none the worse, such as mutilating and scalping them, cutting out their hearts and drinking their blood; and on the living as in butchering women and children, and burning and torturing prisoners. It was the last formidable protest of savagery against the advance of civilization westward. All the subsequent Indian wars, including Tecumseh's,

Mostly successful

Last general Indian rising

were local in character, not undertaken with the expectation of driving the English from the continent.

1763

Indian capture of Sandusky

The fort at Sandusky was taken on the 16th of May, 1763. Ensign Paully was in command, with less than a score of men. Several traders lived there, and all were on terms of intimacy and mutual hospitalities with the savages, so that no one suspected treachery. On the 16th, Paully received a visit in his quarters from four Huron and three Ottawa chiefs, who sat smoking and chatting pleasantly for some time; then, at a signal from the leader, the two next to Paully seized and bound him without uttering a word. At the same instant nearly all the white inmates were murdered, each man where he stood; the sergeant was in his garden he was planting, the traders behind their counters. The stores were plundered, and the buildings then burned to the ground. Paully was conveyed to Detroit for torture; but as the fire was kindling, an ancient toothless hag declared she needed a husband, and offered to marry him. He hesitated between the alternatives; but as the fire grew hotter he chose the less painful, and married the widow. Being now a member of the tribe and accorded special privileges, he contrived soon afterward to escape.

Paully's narrow escape

Fort St. Joseph approached

Nine days after the capture of Sandusky, a large party of Pottawattamies from Detroit appeared at Fort St. Joseph, on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan, about where the city of St. Joseph now stands. The place was held by fourteen men under Ensign Schlosser, who had not yet learned of the outbreak to the eastward. As the Indians approached they cried out, "We are come to see our relatives and wish them a good morning;" whereupon they seized the commander and tomahawked all the garrison but three, who with Schlosser were taken as prisoners to Detroit. The fort and buildings were burned.

1763

Three forts seized by stratagem; St. Joseph

Fort Miami, near the present Fort Wayne, Indiana, was next assailed. Ensign Holmes, having received warning of the outbreak at Detroit, had put his little garrison of nine men and a sergeant on the defensive; but during the morning of the 27th he was enticed from the fort by the story of an Indian woman, in a cabin outside, that she needed medical attention. As Holmes was the only one there who had a knowledge of medicine, he accompanied the messenger; but on his way he was shot from ambush. The sergeant, hearing the report, followed to ascertain its cause, and was captured. The Indians then surrounded the fort and demanded its surrender; and the soldiers submitted to what seemed the inevitable. Their lives were spared, and they and the sergeant were taken to Detroit.

Miami

Fort Ouatanon stood on the bank of the Wabash, a short distance below the present Lafayette, Indiana. The war-belt did not reach the local Indians until the 31st of May, and the garrison were wholly unconscious of peril. On the morning of June 1 the commander was lured into an Indian cabin and bound; whereupon the fort was at once

Ouatanon

beleaguered. The little garrison surrendered on promise of protection; which was secured by the French residents of the place, who purchased them all with belts of wampum and received them into their houses. The fort was destroyed.

1763

At Michillimacinac (the present Mackinaw, Michigan), there was a considerable fort and settlement of French and English traders. The garrison numbered about forty men, under command of Captain Etherington. The village of the traders stood within the palisades, which extended across a point of land that jutted out into the lake, inclosing about two acres. Here also were the barracks for the soldiers and the officers' quarters. The capture of this place had been assigned to a tribe of Ojibways, who lived on a plain near the fort, and had professed the greatest friendship for the English. Indeed, the most cordial relations existed between the two races: there was scarcely an hour during the day when the grounds of the fort and village were not rendered picturesque by the presence of numerous red warriors and their women, either trading or visiting the whites.

Michillimacinac

Indians and whites

On the 2d of June nearly the whole tribe assembled in front of the fort to play a game of ball, and the officers of the garrison were invited as guests of honor to witness it. The Indian women, meanwhile, closely enveloped in their blankets, took station within the gate; but were apparently as much interested in the game as the warriors themselves. Etherington and one of his lieutenants stood outside, without the least suspicion of

Indian ruse; game of lacrosse

1763

Michillimacinac captured by stratagem

treachery, and soon became deeply interested in the exciting sport. The game went on from early morning until about noon; when, as a preconcerted signal, the ball was thrown near the gate behind the two officers, who were instantly seized, bound, and carried into the woods. As the warriors dashed forward in pretended pursuit of the ball, several hundred of them crowded into the fort, where they were supplied with arms by the women, who had the weapons concealed under their blankets. An English trader, an officer, and fifteen of the men belonging to the garrison, were instantly massacred, the remainder of the soldiers and the English traders being made prisoners and robbed of everything. The fort and village were not destroyed, but all the merchandise belonging to the English traders was appropriated as spoils of victory. None of the French inhabitants were molested: they were said to be acting in concert with the savages, and certainly knew of the intended assault.

Some murdered, all plundered

The fort at Presqu'isle was held by twenty-two men under Ensign Christie, who seems to have been a brave and capable officer, though he was denounced as a coward at the time. His energetic defense of the post disproves the charge. It was easily accessible from Niagara, and ought to have been saved; but the assault was so sudden and unexpected that no time was afforded to send messengers or receive reinforcements. The fort was surrounded on the morning of June 15, by over two hundred warriors, most of them sent from

Presqu'isle attacked

Detroit by Pontiac. The assault was as furious as it was sudden, with the hope of rushing the fort before the garrison could prepare for resistance. They succeeded in part, the exterior fortifications being taken at the first rush. But the men retired to the blockhouse, where they maintained a spirited fight for more than two days. The Indians attempted to burn the building by throwing balls of flaming pitch on the shingles, which ignited several times; but in each instance the flames were extinguished by the soldiers, who courageously exposed themselves to a murderous fire while carrying buckets of water to the blazing roof.

1763

Fierce contest over Presqu'isle

The savages then constructed rude breastworks on an eminence overlooking the fort, from which they could fire into the blockhouse; but the men were protected by the angle of the near wall, and the Indians soon wearied of the fruitless effort. A few, growing bold, attempted to charge across the open ground in front of the fort, and shelter themselves under the palisades; but they were all shot before they could reach cover. This band fought with extraordinary bravery considering their race, and displayed a good deal of ingenuity in conducting a siege. They at length started a mine, which they carried forward rapidly through the soft earth and gravel. On the second day they brought it beneath the house of the commandant, which they immediately set on fire. As the building stood near the blockhouse, that structure was in imminent peril, while the soldiers were almost stifled by the smoke and heat.

Indian siege works

Dig mines

1763

Presqu'-isle forced to surrender

The garrison were now cut off from their one well, in the parade-ground; but they quickly sunk another within the walls of the blockhouse, and by this means saved their citadel from destruction. Meanwhile the savages continued their assaults, at the same time carrying the mine forward until it came beneath the blockhouse. The position thus rendered untenable, Christie made signs for a parley. Representatives from both sides met, and it was agreed that the fort should be surrendered, but the men were to be allowed to depart unmolested. This agreement was quickly violated. No sooner were the savages admitted within the inclosure than they bound Christie and all the men, and carried them captive to Detroit, whence the commander soon afterward escaped; the men were surrendered at the end of the war.

Fort Le Bœuf captured

On the 18th the fort at Le Bœuf, about eighteen miles south, was surrounded and set on fire by the savages. The garrison consisted of thirteen men, commanded by Ensign Price; while the blockhouse was burning and the savages howling and dancing in front, these cut an opening in the back of the building and escaped. They tried to make their way through the wilds to Fort Pitt, about a hundred miles south; but being unused to that mode of life, about half of them starved to death on the way. It seems incredible, for they carried guns, and the woods were filled with wild turkeys and other game; but woodcraft is a special science.

Sad fate of the garrison

The garrison at Venango—on French Creek, a branch of the Alleghany River, in what is now

Crawford County, Pennsylvania—met with the cruelest fate of all. It consisted of Lieutenant Gordon and a few soldiers, unconscious of the outbreak of war, and like the other garrisons, on terms of friendship with the neighboring Indians. About the time that Fort Le Bœuf was burnt, a band of Senecas gained admission to the blockhouse at Venango, and slaughtered the entire garrison except Lieutenant Gordon, who was subsequently tortured and burnt at the stake. The fort was utterly destroyed, and the position being unimportant, it was never rebuilt.

1763

Dreadful fate of Venango

The same band soon afterward attacked the fort at Niagara, but were driven off with considerable loss. This cooled off the Senecas: they had not interest enough in the war to feel it worth losing many lives for, and after this defeat the only part they took in Pontiac's war was to attack and cut off a train of army supplies at a place near Niagara, called Devil's Hole.

The Senecas

Forts Pitt, Ligonier, and Bedford were all attacked by large bodies of savages during the summer of 1763, but escaped capture or serious harm. These efforts constituted one of the features of Pontiac's far-reaching conspiracy, and help to reveal the tremendous influence of that chieftain over the tribes inhabiting the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi.

Other posts

Detroit and Fort Pitt were the only English posts in the West with garrisons strong enough to be regarded as respectable. The latter protected the Ohio and its confluent streams, and was very properly regarded as a place of vital importance. 1763 A garrison of three hundred and thirty men, under Captain Ecuyer, was stationed there. Some of these were traders and huntsmen, not in any of the regular companies, but regarded as one of the most valuable factors of the fighting force. The woodsmen brought early reports of the outbreak in the north and northwest, and Captain Ecuyer proceeded at once to place the fort in a state of thorough defense; for it was justly inferred that its possession would be eagerly sought by the savages, whose operations, it was then believed, were directed by French officers. The walls of the fortifications were still unfinished, and had been broken on three sides by time and rain-washings. A rampart of logs was now built entirely around, inside of the old works, and strengthened by palisades. No reasonable precaution was omitted to render the place impregnable to the attacks of the savages. Among other contrivances, a rude steam-engine was constructed, but we have no information as to how it was employed. This was the first one produced on the western continent. Probably it was to throw steam and hot water on the savages, in the event of their making a breach—a very effective mode of defense.

Garrison of Fort Pitt

Warned and strongly defended

Boiling-water artillery

By the time or before all these works were completed, northwestern Virginia and western Pennsylvania were thrown into consternation by savage barbarities committed within their limits. More than one hundred traders and hunters had been slain in the woods, their bodies mutilated,

Horrible ravages on the borders

1763

Frightful border atrocities by savages

and their blood quaffed by the infuriated warriors; who prowled around the cabins of the settlers, braining little children and helpless women as readily as they did men with arms in their hands. More than five hundred families fled eastward from the border settlements of Maryland and Virginia, and it seemed as if the whole region west of the mountains must be depopulated. But in response to the call of the authorities, nearly a thousand volunteers sprang forward from these two provinces, and were soon concentrated at Fort Cumberland—the old Will's Creek of Washington's campaign. The Assembly of Pennsylvania took prompt measures to arm and pay a body of seven hundred frontiersmen, but refused to place them under the orders of British officers: their experience more than justified their action, but it greatly irritated the English officers, and embittered them more than ever against the Quakers.

Provincial forces to the rescue

Indians try to blockade the Ohio

The first demonstration against Fort Pitt was made on the 27th of May, when some parties of Mingoes and Delawares exchanged a lot of peltries with the English traders for powder and lead; and immediately stationed themselves on a point of the river some distance below the fort, to intercept any boats attempting to pass. This was because the English had built a small fleet of boats at the junction of the rivers, for an exploration into the Illinois country, which the Indians were determined to defend against intrusion. About midnight of the same day, some Delaware chiefs sent a message to Ecuyer, notifying him of the number

1763

of posts captured up to that time, and adding this warning: "A party is coming to cut you and your people off: make the best of your way to some place of safety, as we would not desire to see your blood spilled in our town." The commander thanked them for their kindness, but replied that he would endeavor to take care of himself.

Indians try a decoy on Fort Pitt

The next day they slaughtered and scalped a settler's family almost under the guns of the fort. The woods were now filled with painted warriors, all the passes to the eastward were closed, and successive yells from day to day announced fresh murders. Thus matters progressed, until the 21st of June, when a large body of savages made a determined assault on Fort Ligonier, but were repulsed with loss. The next day they assembled near Fort Pitt, where they killed one man and wounded another. On the 23d a small party of Delaware chiefs drew near the fort and asked for a parley, which Ecuyer granted. The chiefs professed warm friendship for the English, coupled with an anxious regard for their safety. "You must leave this fort," said their chief speaker, "with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here, but we will protect you from them."

Assault Fort Ligonier

Again try to lure out Fort Pitt garrison

Ecuyer, who understood the Indian character better than the average British officer, replied with pretended solicitude for *their* safety. He thanked them warmly for their interest in him and his people, and told them in confidence that an army

Whose captain turns tables on them

of six thousand Englishmen was on the way thither from Fort Cumberland; that another of three thousand provincials was marching to attack the Ottawas and the Ojibways; and that a third one, assembled on the borders of Virginia and the Carolinas, had been joined by the Cherokees and Catawbas, and would soon sweep over the northwest, carrying everything before them. He gave free wing to his imagination, and painted the picture in sanguinary colors. "Take pity, therefore, on your women and children," said Ecuyer, "and get out of the way before it is too late."

1763

Canard frightens Indians from Fort Pitt

The frightened Indians withdrew on hearing this, and made no further move against Fort Pitt for nearly a month; but on the 26th of July they returned, with renewed wiles. "All your strong places in our country from this eastward," said Turtle's Heart, a noted chief of the Delawares, "are burnt and cut off. Six different nations are ready to attack you; but they have agreed to allow you and your people to pass safely. Therefore, brother, we desire you to set off to-morrow, as great numbers of Indians are coming here, and after two days we shall not be able to do anything with them for you."

They return

This time they were treated with open defiance; and that night they began their assault on the fort. Stationing themselves under the river bank, they dug holes in the soft earth, in which they concealed their dusky bodies while attempting to pick off the soldiers. But their manœuvres were discovered before they had time to do any

Defied and begin assault

serious execution, and the watchful soldiers surpassed them in deadly accuracy of aim. The siege continued, however, with more or less energy, until the 15th of August, when the fort was relieved by Colonel Henry Bouquet, who had marched from Philadelphia at the head of five hundred Highlanders.

1763

Fort Pitt relieved by Bouquet

Bouquet's march ranks high among the thrilling episodes of our colonial history. Bouquet, a Frenchman by ancestry but a Swiss by birth, had won his first distinction as lieutenant-colonel of the Swiss guards in the service of Holland. In 1756 he joined the British army with the same rank, and six years afterward was promoted to colonel of the 60th foot, composed of Highlanders; who as Indian-fighters stood next to Rogers' rangers in general repute. At its head he set out from Philadelphia about the first of July, 1763, for the relief of Fort Pitt; with a train of wagons and about four hundred pack-horses, loaded with ammunition and provisions for it. Unfortunately he took no artillery, of which he was to have terrible need. This baggage train enforced slow marching, and it was the middle of the month before they reached Carlisle.

Bouquet's expedition

Starts to relieve Fort Pitt

From thence, anxious about conditions in the west, Bouquet sent forward thirty picked men to visit Bedford and Fort Ligonier, and keep him informed as to what was going on there and westward, while he came on with the main body. His scouts soon reported that the whole western country was filled with savages, and that both Bedford

Sends out scouts

and Ligonier were besieged; he therefore took both places in his route, and drove the Indians away. 1763 At Ligonier he struck the old Braddock road; a forcible warning to beware of Braddock's error. The commandant was able to give him no information regarding Fort Pitt, all his scouts having either been killed or forced to return. Evidently no time could be lost; and leaving all the wagons and heavy baggage at Ligonier, he set forward on the 4th of August with his Highlanders and about three hundred and fifty pack-horses, to make a forced march for the relief of Fort Pitt.

Bouquet's march

No signs of Indians were observed during the 4th, and that night the regiment encamped in apparent security; but that meant nothing, as Bouquet knew. The march was resumed at daylight on the 5th, to have the benefit of the cool of the morning. It was the intention to camp at a small stream called Bushy Run, which they expected to reach during the afternoon; but the troops made excellent progress, and were crossing a hill about a mile east of the creek at one o'clock, when the advance-guard was fired on by Indians lying in ambush.

Pass Bushy Run

This was precisely what Bouquet had expected. The regiment was quickly formed in a square, on the brow of the hill, with the pack-horses in the centre; and as the firing in front grew heavier, Bouquet led forward a detachment and drove the Indians away at the point of the bayonet. But on returning to the hill, they were attacked on both flanks and in the rear, and did not reach their

Assailed by Indians

1763

Bouquet's command sorely harassed

comrades without considerable loss. They now found themselves surrounded on every side by a large force of yelling, shrieking, and gesticulating savages, who fired with deadly effect from behind trees, bushes, and prostrate logs. The troops were unprotected; they could not even secure the advantage of lying down, through a panic among the horses. These animals, some wounded and all frightened by the yells of the savages, broke into a stampede, and rushing wildly against the soldiers, became a source of danger almost as great as the savages themselves. But the men retained their presence of mind, and fired with precision whenever an opportunity presented itself. In this way they did some execution, and kept the enemy at a respectful distance.

Vastly outnumbered by savage army

A few light cannon would have scattered the Indians; but there none. Several times during the afternoon, when parties of Indians ventured near enough, the soldiers charged them with bayonets and claymores; but they returned each time, apparently in greater numbers than ever, as soon as the soldiers resumed their places in the ranks. They seemed to rise up out of the ground; the woods and ravines swarmed on every hand with painted bodies and flaunting war-bonnets of eagles' feathers. Evidently the various detachments that had been operating at Fort Pitt, Ligonier, and Bedford, had concentrated for this attack. They were there in overwhelming numbers; yet they kept themselves so well behind cover that the fire of the troops had little effect.

As darkness came on, the firing ceased. The Indians, believing the soldiers to be at their mercy, rested that night; this also gave the troops an opportunity to snatch a few hours of needed sleep. But no rest came to the commander. He knew that his situation was desperate. Sixty of his men had been killed, besides a number wounded and disabled; and while he had lost one-fifth of his force, the Indians were apparently as numerous as ever. The sufferings of the wounded were excruciating; they lay on a hill where no water for their relief could be obtained. "This," wrote Bouquet, in a dispatch which he contrived to send to Amherst that night, "is more intolerable than the enemy's fire." He was clearly disheartened, and intimated that he did not believe his command would survive the coming day.

1763

Bouquet's situation desperate

At the first streaks of dawn the battle was renewed, with even greater fury than on the previous day. The savages had grown bolder over night, and came closer to the lines; but never in masses dense enough to render the fire of the troops effective, or to afford an opportunity to use the bayonet. Bouquet now realized that his command would soon be annihilated unless he changed his tactics. His men were falling on every hand, without the ability to inflict any serious punishment on their enemies. It was a waste of ammunition to fire volleys into the woods, and their position was such that they could not take cover and imitate the savages by picking them off singly. The soldiers were disheartened; they were

Annihilation near

fighting phantoms, battling with shadows. Some 1763 means must be devised to bring the enemy together in a compact body; and at length he hit upon a stratagem which accomplished his purpose.

Bouquet's stratagem

Feigning preparations for a retreat, Bouquet marched two of his companies within the hollow square, the lines opening to the right and left to admit them, and then closing up in the rear as if to protect the retreat. The manœuvre was repeated by two other companies, whereupon the savages were convinced that a retreat had really commenced. They rushed forward with yells of fury at the supposed attempt of their victims to escape, gloating over the anticipated massacre at hand. But they had observed only a part of the manœuvre. There had been a movement out of the square as well as into it; two companies had been stationed in different places on the opposite side of the hill, so that as the Indians ran forward from their concealment, both of their flanks were exposed to a raking fire. The savages were now in a solid mass, through which every discharge mowed a swath of death. At the same time, the troops on the top of the hill faced about and delivered a destructive fire, following it up with a bayonet charge that swept the field clean.

Savages in a death-trap

Fly in rout

The savages fled in wild dismay. They had been beaten at their own game of strategy, and now their only hope or thought was to get out of the reach of the dreaded bayonets and claymores. They were not given time to reload their pieces; when the tide of victory turned, the slaughter was all one way. Even those on the opposite side of the hill, and not yet included in the toils of death, caught the infection and fled in terror. The rout was complete and crushing. The enemy made no effort to recover lost ground, but fled out of reach and abandoned the field. They returned even to their villages, humbled and crestfallen.

1763

Indians routed by Bouquet

But the victory had been dearly purchased. In the two days' fight the Highlanders had lost one hundred and fifteen men and eight officers. This battle had furnished a third slaughter in the efforts of the English to capture and hold the forks of the Ohio. As soon as the Indians were driven away, the march was resumed, and on the ninth day thereafter the regiment reached Fort Pitt without further interruption of a serious nature. The Indians had received their lesson.

Heavy white losses

In Pennsylvania the Quakers, far away from danger of personal harm, insisted that if the Indians had been justly treated they would not have lifted the hatchet; and by a most illogical inference, assumed that therefore the settlers had no claim to protection against the tomahawk, the scalping-knife, the stake, or the torch. This sentiment aroused great exasperation against that sect among the people of the border, who were subjected almost daily to savage outrages; and in the Paxton settlement on the Susquehanna it led to an organization known as the "Paxton Boys," whose avowed purpose was the wreaking of vengeance upon the Indians. Their butchery of the Conestoga Indians in the jail at Lancaster,

The Paxton Boys

and their attempt to capture Philadelphia in February 1764, have already been noted.

1764

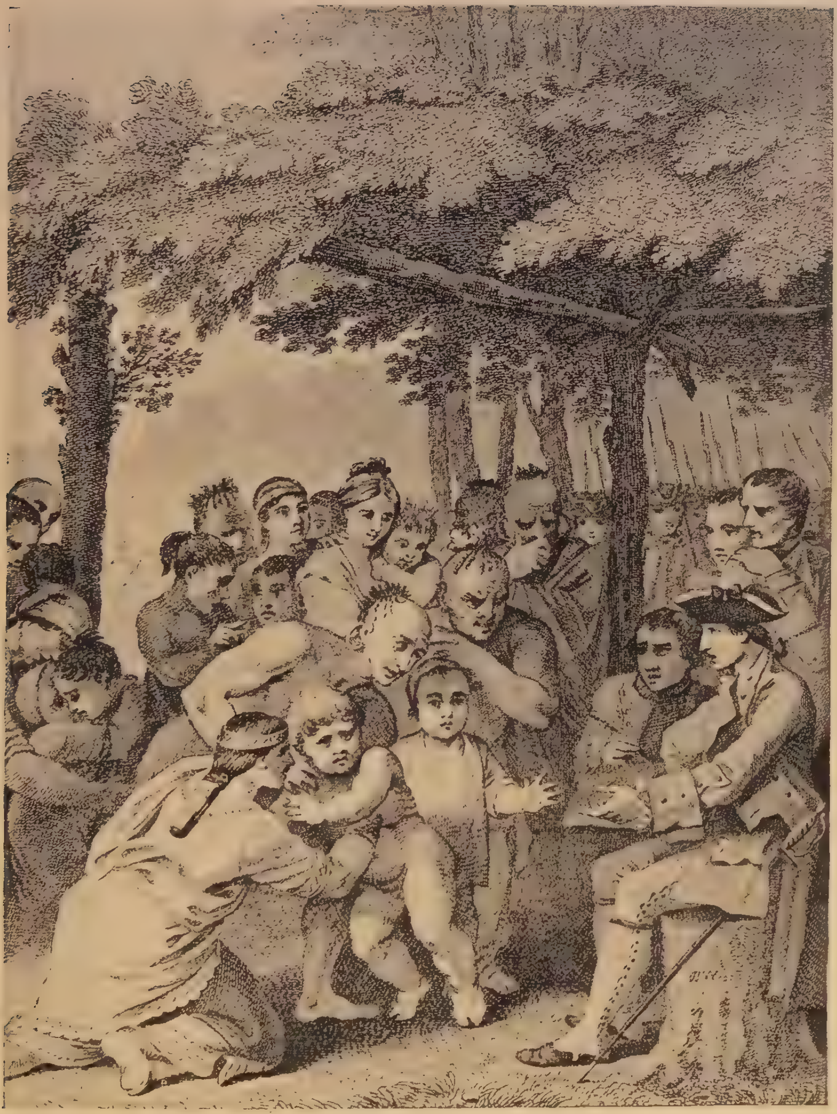
The next year (1764) two strong forces under commanders both highly esteemed, Bouquet and Colonel Bradstreet, were sent into the heart of the Indian country to repossess the posts, rescue the captives, and stamp out the war. Bradstreet went north by Sandusky to Detroit, sending detachments to reoccupy the northern lake forts. The cunning savages promised everything, and duped him into granting a truce suspending his operations, while they never ceased massacre, and concentrated bands to cut off his army. His vanity and credulous ignorance of Indians caught at the lure of finishing the war alone; and he wrote his superior officer Bouquet to cease hostilities, as he had made a preliminary treaty with them! The astounded and wrathful Bouquet, whose march was along the Ohio and Muskingum among the Delawares and Shawnees, paid no attention. He forced them to surrender about two hundred captives, many of them women and children carried off and adopted years before, some of whom fled back to the wild life or Indian mates again; and to give hostages for the surrender of a hundred more (effected later) and send deputies to buy a peace from Sir William Johnson. Bradstreet meantime had been frightened from Sandusky by the menacing savage bands, and retreated with pitiful excuses for not even rescuing the prisoners who were a main object of the expedition; and Bouquet accomplished this himself by a stern embassy.

Bradstreet's expedition

Indians dupe him

Bouquet's successful expedition

Does Bradstreet's work



INDIANS SURRENDERING ENGLISH CAPTIVES TO BOUQUET.

Still, very many tribes and parts of tribes would not submit, and continued hostilities some two years longer. During the whole war, more than a thousand families were driven from their homes on the western border; fully two thousand white settlers, many of them women and children, were massacred, and many tortured to death.

1764–8

Horrors of Pontiac's war

The efforts that finally restored peace were instituted by the French officers of the Mississippi and Illinois country, heartily sick of this futile and devastating conflict, from which their country could derive no advantage. De Nevon, the commandant at Fort Chartres, took the lead. He sent wampum belts and peace-pipes to the head chiefs of all the tribes in the great valleys, advising them to make treaties with the English, as no representative of the French king would ever again be seen among them. Pontiac, having failed to sustain the war sentiment after his defeat at Detroit, joined in accepting this counsel. Accordingly, during the summer of 1766, a grand convocation assembled at Oswego, where they were entertained by Sir William Johnson; and after some days of speech-making and pow-wowing, he secured from them a treaty which, so far as the English were concerned, was lasting.

French counsel peace

Pontiac accedes

Two years later the Iroquois made a treaty of the first importance. The English government had resolved to keep the trans-Alleghanian lands for an inviolable Indian possession, and delimit an impassable frontier from Canada to Georgia. In pursuance of this policy, their southern Indian

Treaty of Fort Stanwix

agent John Stuart concluded in October 1768 a treaty with the Cherokees, making the Great Kanawha the western boundary of Virginia. To thwart the plan, that colony sent an agent to the proposed conference at Fort Stanwix; the Iroquois chiefs were heavily bribed; and for £10,460 7s. 6d. they ceded a vast western territory to New York, the Penns, and Virginia, extending the latter's boundary to the Tennessee—that is, giving it Kentucky. Neither tribe had any title to the latter; but civilization had.

1760–8

End of Pontiac's war

Pontiac's war was the final protest of the red men against a change of masters. Following immediately upon the efforts of the English to take possession of the country after the surrender of Canada, its consideration led us aside momentarily from the closing events of the Seven Years' War, which we now resume.

Fate of French relief fleet

Before the final surrender of Canada, in September of 1760, the French government had dispatched a fleet of twenty-two ships to the relief of that province: it was assailed by Admiral Byron, the grandfather of the poet, with six frigates, and every vessel of it either captured or destroyed. This was the last effort of France to succor her lost colonies in America. Canada's entire population, as well as the great northern fur-trade and fisheries, became a prize of the English nation.

Canada becomes English prize

Louisbourg

The costly fortifications at Louisbourg were blown up, and the artillery and munitions of war transferred to Halifax. Considering that it was the best fortified place on the North-American

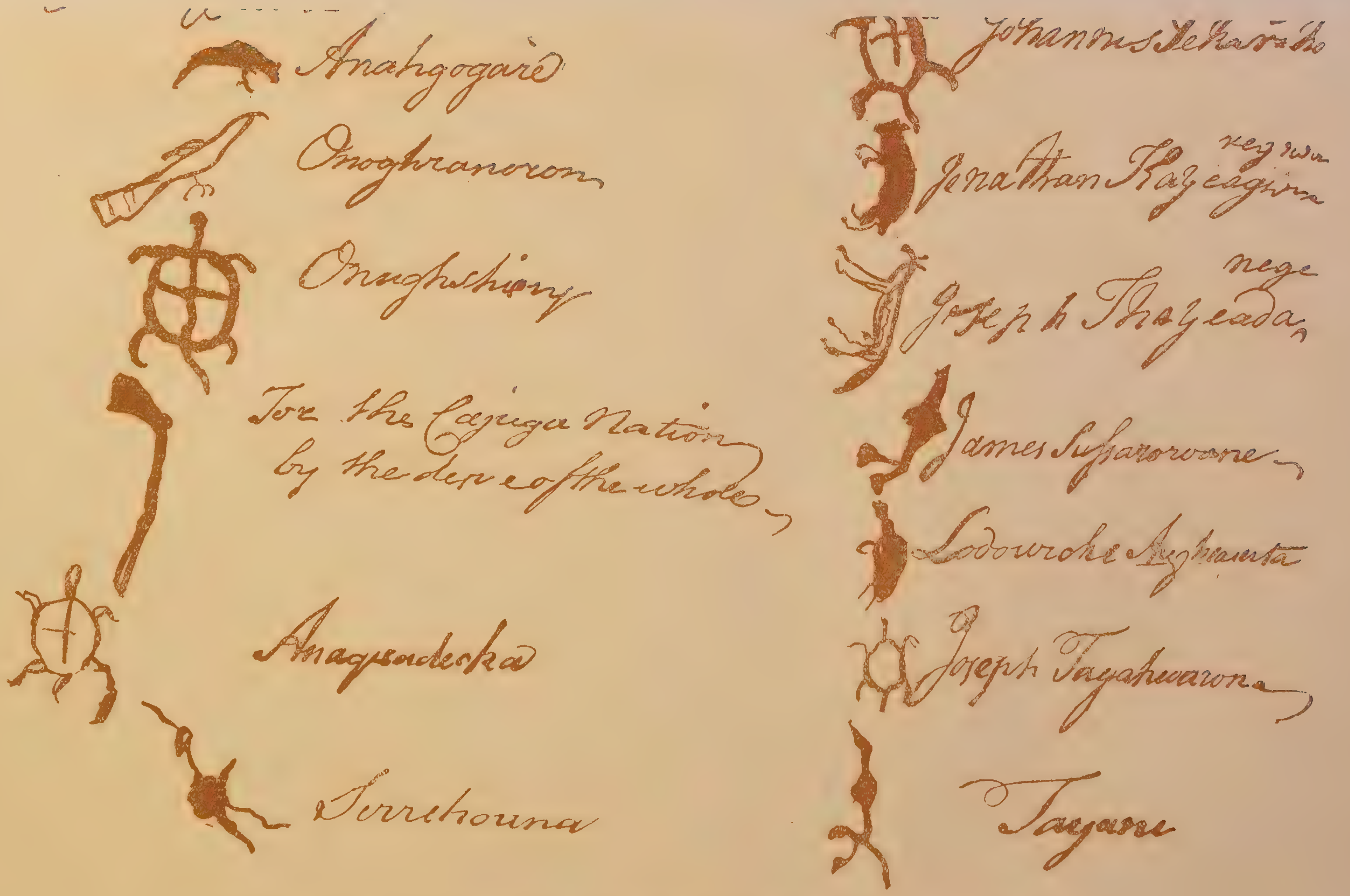
A Receipt from the
Six Nations for
a £4000 Curr.y or
10000 Dollars.

Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard Penn Esq^rs true and absolute Proprietaries of Pennsyl-vania by the hands of the honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet the Sum of ten Thousand Dollars being the full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by the Indians of the Six Nations at the late Treaty of Fort Stanwix We say received this Twenty Eighth day of July — Anno Domini 1769 — for ourselves and the other Indians of the Six Nations and their confederates and dependant Tribes for whom we act and by whom we are appointed and empowered —

Witness present
Henry Frey Justice
~~[illegible]~~
Jacob Klock Justice

Nor. MacLeod
Pat Daly

Abraham for the Mohawks



Anahgogare
Onoghranoron
Onughshiony
For the Cajuga Nation
by the desire of the whole
Anagsadecka
Terrihouna

Johannes Tekariho
regwa
Jonathan Kazeagiwa
nege
Joseph Thayeada
James Sussarowane
Lodowroke Aghraunta
Joseph Tayahwaron
Tayanu

RECEIPT FOR IROQUOIS LANDS SOLD TO PENNS AT TREATY OF FORT STANWIX.

continent, and that two momentous sieges were fought there, it would seem that extraordinary interest in the popular mind ought to cluster about it; but such is not the case. The summer tourist visits Halifax and other places of lesser note in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton; but Louisbourg remains isolated and alone, its site a fishing village of a thousand souls, its former state almost forgotten except by an antiquarian or historian.

1760-3

Louisbourg

It was Pitt's wish that the French settlements in Louisiana should be acquired with the rest of the territory of that nation, and their unprotected condition would have rendered them an easy prey; but the great war minister fell into disgrace soon after the accession of George III., and the peace party, under the weak lead of Lord Bute, threw away the richest of the French possessions in America. The new sovereign had from the beginning opposed the war which Pitt had conducted with such brilliant success; and being of that stubbornly dull nature which brooks no opposition, he had scarcely warmed the throne before the minister was driven from power.

Louisiana remains French

George III. hates the war

The King's speech on assuming the reins of government had been drawn up for him by Bute. It referred to the war as bloody and expensive—a mere restatement of terms. This declaration was entered on the Council-books without any previous concert with Pitt; and he was profoundly hurt at what he regarded as a condemnation of his policy. He demanded a change in the wording of the objectionable sentence, and after a long and

Denounces it from the throne

angry dispute it was agreed that the following should be substituted in its stead: "As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary, war, I shall endeavor to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring an honorable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." The King, mentally small and contracted, was furious over this change, which had been forced upon him; and he decided thereafter to be guided more by the Earl of Bute and the Duke of Newcastle than the strong-minded and independent war minister, whom he styled "tedious and pompous," whose elevated political ideas he could not grasp, and who was instilling into the people an independence of feeling directly adverse to the King's plan for strengthening his own power. Pitt was ignored, as far as he could be, from the start, and within a year from the accession of George III. he resigned his portfolio.

1761

George III. prefers Bute to Pitt

Drives Pitt to resign

Meanwhile, during the summer of 1761, an agreement was entered into between the Bourbon sovereigns of France and Spain, by which it was provided that unless peace should be declared by the beginning of the new year, Spain would join France in the war against England. This agreement was known as the "Family Compact," and it was faithfully carried out to the humiliation of both the contracting parties. Spain waited only for the arrival of her South-American treasure-ships, that they might avoid capture, and on the 4th of January of 1762 she declared war. By this time Pitt was out of power, and Bute was

The "Family Compact"

Spain declares war

the controlling influence at court; although the weak Duke of Newcastle was the nominal premier. The office of Southern Secretary, which had been vacated by Pitt, was now filled by the Earl of Egremont, another weakling from the nobility.

1762

Pitt's supplanters

But new life had been infused into the army and navy by the tremendous energy of the late minister; and especially, the noble nobodies had been weeded out. The operations of 1762, both on land and sea, were highly creditable to the English people. These achievements strengthened the new administration, and enabled it afterward to negotiate an unsatisfactory peace. The first movement in the west was an expedition composed of English and provincial troops against the French colony of Martinique. It was an easy and complete success. The island surrendered on the 14th of February to the army under Moncton and the fleet under Rodney; and the submission of all the lesser islands belonging to France followed soon afterward. Thus the whole of the Caribbees came into possession of the English.

His work still vital

England subdues West Indies

The New England troops took a prominent part in this expedition; but, suffering from the climate and the hardships of the campaign, were invalided and sent home. Finding their health restored by the sea voyage, they had no sooner reached their own shores than they ordered the ships to put about and carry them back to Havana, which was then besieged by a force of regulars and the squadron under Admiral Pocock. They arrived at a most opportune time. The first

New England troops at Havana

appearance of the yellow fever in the island of 1762 Cuba had occurred the previous year; and during the siege of Havana it broke out again among the troops, producing such havoc in their ranks that they were on the point of abandoning the enterprise when the New England men arrived. This infused new life and spirit into the regulars, and the siege was thereafter pushed with such vigor that on the 14th of August the city and island surrendered to the English. This was one of the most brilliant accomplishments of the war; but its benefits were lost to the English nation by the terms of the treaty entered into the following year. The capture of the French and Spanish West Indies was due primarily to the provincials, as were nearly all the other victories of the Seven Years' War; but they failed to receive their due credit or their country the due advantage.

Havana conquered by English

Retroceded

During the progress of these transactions, a French squadron made a sudden descent on Newfoundland, and captured that island on the 24th of June; but it was retaken on the 18th of September by a force of provincials dispatched by General Amherst for that purpose. Success now followed the British flag everywhere; the French minister declared that his people had forgotten how to fight; and peace soon afterward resulted.

Newfoundland taken and retaken

In the mean time Bute had again become the actual as well as the nominal head of the government; and in August 1762 he made overtures to the court of Versailles, through Sardinia. They were eagerly accepted. It was a case where both

Bute makes overtures for peace

sides were anxiously waiting for the other to make the first advances. By the middle of September the two countries had exchanged ministers, and negotiations were actively under way. When news of these events reached America, great anxiety prevailed lest England should surrender Canada, as she had given up Cape Breton after the war of 1744-8. The colonists knew that permanent peace with France could not be maintained so long as her provinces adjoined the English.

1762-3

Peace negotiations

The weakness of the home government was so manifest as to arouse the apprehensions of the colonists, who had plentiful experience of the fact that their interests were not considered in English treaties, and had also discovered that they were of more importance to England than she was to them—dangerous knowledge to circulate among the people of a young and virile nation. Many English statesmen apprehended the delicacy of the situation; and some were on this very account opposed to the retention of Canada, preferring to leave it in French possession as a rod over the heads of their own colonies, who would hardly dream of opposing the mother country while an alien enemy lay beside them. Pitt saw this side too; but he was broad enough in his views to risk the loyalty of the colonies under just treatment, rather than attempt to keep them in subjection by the presence of an alert enemy at their doors. But indeed the other notion was childish: the English people would never have consented to give up the entire prize of seven years' blood and treasure.

Colonies apprehensive of being sold out

England apprehensive of colonies

It was accepted as a foregone conclusion that 1763 either Canada or the West Indies must be surrendered, probably because such a sudden mastery of North America by land and sea might provoke an irresistible new coalition and rouse France to new efforts; and this was assumed as one of the irrevocable conditions of peace. Franklin, then residing in England as the agent of the colonies, stood with Pitt, and wrote a pamphlet arguing strongly in favor of England retaining Canada as a protection against French encroachments in the future. But even he did not regard that power as a serious menace when confined to the islands.

Not thought wise to strip France wholly

The treaty was at length ratified at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. France renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, and surrendered Canada and all its dependencies, including Cape Breton and the islands and coasts of the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, without mental reservations. The western and southwestern boundary between the dominions of the two nations should be defined by a line through the middle of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville —a small outlet which leaves the great river fourteen miles below Baton Rouge, and flowing eastward, empties into the river Amite, which, continuing in a similar direction, pours its waters into Lake Maurepas. The line thence was to follow the shores of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea. The river and port of Mobile, and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans and the

Treaty of Paris

Boundaries

island on which it is built, were likewise ceded to England.

1763

The immensity of this concession seems almost incredible now; we must remember that in fact France surrendered mainly a wilderness she could not use or populate. Even so, it shows the depth of humiliation to which France had been reduced, and explains the sparing of Louisiana, and the retrocession of the West India islands excepting Grenada and the Grenadines. Spain also received back her West India possessions, including Cuba; but ceded to England all the territory which she possessed or claimed on the continent of North America, to the east and southeast of the Mississippi—to wit, the Floridas. The inhabitants of the ceded countries should be protected in the observance of the Catholic religion, so far as consistent with the laws of England; should retain their civil rights if they chose to live under the British government; or if they preferred, might sell their property and with the proceeds live where they pleased.

Great French humiliation

Guarantees to inhabitants

Lord Granville, president of the Council, declared that the war had been the most glorious in the history of the English people, and the treaty the most honorable that they had ever made. But much of the country, following Pitt's lead, was greatly disappointed because the West Indies had been abandoned. Pitt denounced the treaty in unmeasured terms when it came before the House of Commons; but it was confirmed by 319 to 65. Even allowing for jobbing of memberships, this

Variant English feelings on Treaty of Paris

1762 et seq.

indicates a strong general feeling that the country had had enough war and gained enough booty, contracted enough debt and exacted enough taxes; but a large part of the people felt that the ministers had been too eager for peace. The treaty was reviled as a treacherous and disgraceful capitulation; and some went the length of accusing Bute of having received a money consideration for making the terms so easy. The charge was nonsense—Bute was one of the richest men in Great Britain, had no motive for nor ever gave any token of venality, and had no dictatorial power to make such terms as he pleased; but if Pitt had been at the head of affairs, France and Spain would have been required to surrender all their territory within the present limits of the United States, including their island possessions. It is true that they might have refused, and a great European league have left England worse terms.

Popular disappointment at Treaty of Paris

The newly acquired territory was soon after erected into four separate provinces, or government districts: East and West Florida, Grenada, and Quebec. Cape Breton and the adjacent islands became a part of Nova Scotia; while the region between the Altamaha and St. Mary's was permanently annexed to Georgia. East Florida included all the present Florida as far west as the Apalachicola; the western division extended thence to the Mississippi, and from 31° N. L. to the Gulf, including lands now belonging to Alabama and Mississippi. Spain gave up this continental district in exchange for Cuba, which had

Fortunes of conquered lands

been surrendered to England after the beginning of peace negotiations.

1764 et seq.

Colonists of Floridas

The English immediately offered inducements for settlers, and many Carolinians emigrated to the Floridas. Also about fifteen hundred Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans were colonized at New Smyrna, in the present county of Volusia, on the east coast; where they introduced the cultivation of indigo and sugar-cane. But being badly treated by their employers, they abandoned their little plantations and removed to St. Augustine. During the Revolutionary War numerous privateers were fitted out at the British forts in the Floridas, to prey upon American commerce and the colonial coast towns; and the savages were encouraged by the British authorities to penetrate Georgia and South Carolina on massacring expeditions. In 1778 General Prévost marched from St. Augustine into Georgia, occupying Savannah and other places; but his absence left the Floridas unprotected, and the next year the Spaniards captured Baton Rouge and overran nearly the whole of the western province. In May 1781 they secured Pensacola. Both the Floridas, thus well held, were retroceded to Spain by the treaty of 1783—by which England acknowledged American independence. Thereupon, most of the inhabitants, unwilling to live under the Spanish government, removed to the United States. The Floridas were retained by Spain, with some modifications of their boundaries, until 1819, when the whole territory was ceded to this country. A readjustment

Florida in the Revolution

Retroceded to Spain

Ceded to United States

of the lines was soon afterward made, conforming to their present limits.

1763 et seq.

Final results of Seven Years' War

With the treaty of 1763 the dream of a New France in America vanished, and the predictions of English and French statesmen regarding the separation of the colonies from the mother country began to assume shape and form. The oppressive measures of George III. and his weak and corrupt ministry began to be felt even before the close of the Seven Years' War; while the rapid growth of the colonial population during the succeeding twelve years of peace made the triumph of the patriot cause possible. The war with France had engendered a military spirit among the colonists, and produced a number of men trained to the command of regiments and armies. For a period of about six years during that contest, the colonies had maintained, at their own cost, an army of between 20,000 and 25,000 men, who contributed more to the success of the war than all the British forces.

Effect on colonies

These facts had revealed to them the extent of their own strength and resources, and made them more than ever unwilling to submit to British injustice. When it was proposed to tax them for a portion of the debt incurred by England in the prosecution of the war against France, they resisted. It was, however, not the obligation or the tax to which they objected, but the manner of its levy and collection. The contending principles and their outcome we have now to trace.

Too strong to be coerced

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

Within twelve years from the time the treaty of peace was signed which gave the English colonies in America the heritage of the west to the Mississippi Valley, and a chance to fight the Roman Catholic Church for that of Canada, these same colonies were well on their way to separation from the mother country. A distinct political programme had been adopted, a definitely formulated statement of the colonial view of relations to the British government had been made, and both were generally accepted. The question naturally arises concerning the causes which brought about this change; and the answer as expressed usually is "The oppression of the British government," or Taxation without Representation.

1763–5

From Seven Years' War to Revolution

But this answer does not tell the whole story; nor was the American Revolution, in its causes and effects, confined to America alone. Perhaps the case is not overstated by Judge Chamberlain, when he says in substance that the Revolution was an English as much as an American one, only that owing to circumstances it required armed resistance here and not another civil war in England.[1]

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[1] We quote the whole of his masterly summary:

"The American Revolution was not a quarrel between two peoples, the British people and the American people; but, like all those

1759–75

Vast expansion of England

Colonial trade

The year 1759 is one in which British fame, honor, achievement, and advantages stand almost unparalleled in the long roll of her national successes. It was the year of Minden and Quebec, of Lagos and the Bay of Quiberon. The victory of Plassey two years before announced the impending ruin of French colonial empire in India, as that of Quebec had in America. The conquests of the Seven Years' War made England the leader among the nations of Europe. The colonial trade was now a third of the total English commerce, that of the American colonies alone amounting to more than six millions sterling. To preserve this trade, to extend it to new markets, to adopt measures to organize and control the commerce of the

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events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries as one party, and the liberals in both countries as the other party; and some of its fiercest battles were fought in the British Parliament. Nor did it proceed in one country alone, but in both countries at the same time, with nearly equal steps, and was essentially the same in each; so that at the close of the French War, if all the people of Great Britain had been transported to America and put in control of American affairs, and all the people of America had been transported to Great Britain and put in control of British affairs, the American Revolution and the contemporaneous British Revolution—for there was a contemporaneous British Revolution—might have gone on just the same, and with the same final results. But the British Revolution was to regain liberty; the American Revolution was to preserve liberty. Both peoples had a common history in the events which led to the Great Rebellion. That part of the British race which awaited the conflict in the old home passed again under the power of the prerogative, and, after the accession of William III., came under the domination of the great Whig families. The British Revolution, therefore, was to recover what had been lost. But those who emigrated to the colonies left behind them institutions which were monarchial, in church and state, and set up institutions which were democratic. And it was to preserve, not to acquire, these democratic institutions that the liberal party carried the country through a long and costly war."

new colonies, and above all to give administrative unity to the whole, now became the chief object of English statesmen. 1748-60

Taxation in England was heavy and not equitably distributed. A national debt of forty-six millions was increased to seventy-seven millions at the close of the War of the Austrian Succession. The Seven Years' War added over eighty millions sterling. Public credit was so good, however, that it was possible in 1757 to borrow money at three per cent. Promises of reduction in taxes had been made; but the added expense of the newly acquired territories made a new source of revenue necessary if these promises were to be kept.

English debt

Attempt to reduce taxes

Meanwhile the close of the war made the nation less dependent upon the transcendent abilities of William Pitt, and the Whig factions were ready to break out in open quarrels. The rearrangement of parties was necessitated also by the accession of a new sovereign. George II. died on the 25th of October, 1760, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, the seventy-seventh of his life. The new King found the Whig party divided, and the Tories, who had at last renounced their Jacobite tendencies, eager to support an English king, and secure for themselves a share of the spoils of government from which they had so long been excluded.

Death of George II.

Condition of parties

George III. had just completed his twenty-second year. From his thirteenth he had been entirely under the control of his mother, a woman of strong character, punctual in the observance of

George III.

1761 et seq.

George III.'s character and training

her religious duties, but hard and unsympathetic, —not a matter for wonder when her surroundings at the English court are considered, and the loathing hatred borne to her husband, "Prince Fred." To her the young King owed his personal virtues and sincere piety; from her he inherited something of that dull, unreasoning obstinacy which was his most serious fault. His tutors were of his mother's type, narrow and bigoted. Together they implanted a few ideas which took deep root in the boy's mind; for ever after he held dissenters in horror, and he mused much upon the qualities of royal prerogative and the duties—and especially the rights—of a king. "George, be King!" was her constant adjuration.

His youthful traits

The best of his governors, Lord Waldegrave, says of him: "He is strictly honest, but he wants that frank and open behavior which makes honesty appear amiable. His religion is far from all hypocrisy, but it is not of the charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbor. He has spirit, but not of the active kind, and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy. He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent and has strong prejudices." The later George III. was a blunt, busy, positive, shrewd, but not sagacious man; and so far from being lazy, he was an exceptionally hard-working, rather pedantic drudge, who knew

GEORGE III. IN MIDDLE AGE.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

GEORGE III. OLD AND BLIND.

the pettiest details of government, and worked at them like a clerk with a place to keep.

1760 et seq.

Characteristics of George III.

George III. was an Englishman by birth, by education, by taste and habits. He was appreciated and honored for his virtues by that great middle class of Englishmen of which he was so good a representative. Fond of the country, taking a great interest in farming and farm life, a lover of outdoor sports, kindly and considerate to his inferiors, one would like to think of him as the typical country squire. His country subjects never wearied of the tales of his unexpected visits to their cottages and farms, of the keen interest which he showed in the commonplaces of their daily lives. Simple, affectionate, slow-witted, bigoted, personally courageous as it is given to few men to be, absolutely sure of his own good intentions, and as certain that his own opinions only were of value, George III. was by nature admirably fitted to play unwittingly the role of tyrant. Defeat he would sometimes admit, but error never.

His virtues act as vices

Thus it happened that a man of many private and public virtues endeavored to enforce the royal prerogative to an extent unknown since the days of the Stuarts; all but destroyed party government and the theory of ministerial responsibility; used the most corrupt means to obtain and control votes in Parliament; favored general warrants, the ancient foe of the liberties of the subject; made rascally Wilkes "the king of London and Middlesex while he himself was sovereign only of Westminster and England"; blocked all the attempts at parliamentary reform which had for their object equal representation and the abolition of "rotten boroughs"; and entered into the American quarrel with unseemly haste and determination to vindicate his royal rights, refusing to consider plans for conciliation when such plans might have succeeded and have preserved his empire intact.

1766 et seq.

George III.

Such was the situation when George III. came to the throne of England. On the other side of the Atlantic were the thirteen colonies, peopled by a willful, patriotic, and vigorous race of democrats. Institutions unknown to Europe had sprung up and were taking deep root in American soil, while transplanted customs were soon modified by the surrounding conditions and circumstances.

The colonies

In 1760 the population of the colonies was in round numbers 1,700,000. Massachusetts, with something over 200,000 whites, was the most vigorous, flourishing, and aggressive. Virginia had a population of 280,000, but 100,000 were negro slaves. Next came Pennsylvania with say 200,000; Connecticut with about 130,000; Maryland, 104,000; New York, 85,000; and so through the weaker colonies to Georgia, within whose borders there were less than 5,000 inhabitants including negroes.

Population

By the middle of the eighteenth century the people of America had begun to assume a national character; still strongly affected, it is true, by the peculiarities which their ancestors had brought from Europe. In New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut, a modified Puritanism held sway. The manners, customs, and even

Colonial individualities

the language of Holland lingered on the banks of the Hudson. By the Delaware the Quakers controlled all legislation, and prevented any serious innovations upon the simple and tolerant system introduced by William Penn. Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, a degenerate and dissolute descendant of the noble men who had founded Maryland, nominally ruled from England a people who still conformed to the order of things established in the early days of the colony.

1750 et seq.

Colonial individualities

In Virginia there had been a gradual development of the old order, but one in which many of the former peculiarities were retained. The Virginian was proud of his family and of his broad acres, bore himself haughtily, engaged in politics as a duty, enjoyed hunting and horse-racing after the manner of the English country gentlemen, and believed implicitly in the future of the commonwealth. The North-Carolinians had less unity almost than the colonies as a whole: between the ignorant backwoods immigrants of the interior and the strip of relatively cultured inhabitants along the coast, there was deep contempt on one side, hatred and grudge on the other, gross wrong on one side and lawless resentment on the other. The upper stratum fought the royal governors in the Assembly as with other colonies. In South Carolina there was much prosperity and rapidly increasing wealth. But there too popular liberty had been enlarged by constant encroachment of the legislative upon the royal prerogative. The people, many of them of French descent, were as

Virginia and the Carolinas

hot-blooded and jealous of their rights as their ancestors in the times of the first immigrations.

1750 et seq.

There were many causes operating to produce distrust and jealousies among the colonies: but making allowances for these, and for all the differences of colonial character, a considerable degree of American unity had still been attained; intercolonial relations were well established, and the people were far less antagonistic and sectional than of yore.

American unification

New England led the colonies in the matter of education. Her system of free schools extended everywhere from near the Hudson to the Penobscot. Every village furnished facilities for the acquirement of knowledge. In the middle colonies education was not so general, but in Pennsylvania there was much intelligent activity among the people. Especially in Philadelphia was the light of learning diffused. South of the Potomac educational facilities were irregular, and generally designed for the benefit of the wealthier classes. But in some localities the means of enlightenment were well provided, and institutions of learning sprang up scarcely inferior to those of the eastern provinces. Nor should the private schools of the colonial times be forgotten. Many men—Scottish reformers, Irish liberals, and French patriots—fled penniless to the New World for refuge from the intolerance of their countrymen; and there by the banks of the Housatonic, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Ashley, and the Savannah, taught the love of books and the lesson of liberty

Colonial education

to the rugged boys of the American wilderness. Among the southern colonies Virginia led in matters of education. Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia lagged behind. Previous to the Revolution nine colleges worthy of the name had been established in the colonies. These were Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, King's (now Columbia), Queen's (now Rutgers), Dartmouth, and Hampden and Sidney. In 1764 the first medical college was founded at Philadelphia.

1700 et seq.

Colleges in the colonies

Of the printing-press, that other great agent and forerunner of civilization, the work was already effective. As early as 1704 the Boston *News-Letter*, first of periodicals in the New World, was published in the city of the Puritans; but fifteen years elapsed before another experiment of the same sort was made. In 1721 the *New England Courant*, a little sheet devoted to freedom of thought and the extinction of rascality, was established at Boston by the two Franklins. In 1740 New York had but one periodical, Virginia one, and South Carolina one; and at the close of the Seven Years' War there were no more than ten newspapers published in the colonies. The chief obstacles to such publications were the absence of great cities, the sparsely distributed country population, and the difficulties of communication.

News-papers

To reach this scattered population with periodical publications was quite impossible. Books were few, and sometimes as now of little value. There were a few good-sized libraries and some excellent ones. Into the homes of the wealthier merchants

Books

and planters came the best editions of the classics, of the English literature of the day, and of foreign works in law and politics. Discussion of current topics was far more common then than now, and popular knowledge was disseminated and increased by such discussion. Notwithstanding the general poverty of the resources of knowledge, it was no unusual thing to find men of great and solid learning—men of profound scholarship, bold in thought, ready with pen, skillful in argument, often witty and eloquent. The activity of the printing-press was stimulated to an unwonted degree by the arguments preceding the Revolution. Pamphlets fairly deluged the public, and many of them in style and thought were worthy rivals of the compositions of Pitt and Burke.

1700 et seq.

Intellectual life in colonies

Nothing impeded progress more than the want of passable roads, making each community dependent upon itself for life and enjoyment. No general system had as yet been established. Even between the larger cities, communication was frequently interrupted by floods. Fords and ferries were the common methods of crossing streams. Bridges were few and unreliable. In the interior, traveling by horseback was the most certain mode of progress. When in 1766 an express wagon made the trip from New York to Philadelphia in two days, it was considered a marvel of rapidity. Six years later the first stage-coach began to run regularly between Boston and Providence. The seacoast towns and cities, however, found a readier intercourse in small sloops plying the Atlantic.

Bad communications

Before the Revolution the Americans were for the most part an agricultural people. In the North, the products were of great variety, though perhaps Indian corn was most important. In the Southern colonies a few great staples formed the basis—tobacco in tidewater Virginia, with hemp and flax on the uplands; rice, cotton, and indigo in the Carolinas and Georgia, tar and turpentine also in North Carolina. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were great centres of trade; but commerce was carried on in a leisurely manner, from the length of time a trading voyage necessarily consumed. Shipbuilding was one of the most important colonial interests. In 1738 no less than forty-one sailing vessels, averaging one hundred and fifty tons burthen, were built and launched at Boston. New England was the seat of all the manufacturing interests; which were jealously checked and impeded by the British government, firmly committed to the theory that the colonies should produce raw materials only, depending upon the mother country for all manufactured articles.

1700 et seq.

Colonial agriculture

Trade

Manufacturing

Such were the American colonies and colonists. Their ancestors had been harried into exile by European governments and churches, and they had become the rightful proprietors of the New World, fairly won from savage man and savage nature which they had subdued; owned by claims of actual possession, by toil and trial, by the ordeal of suffering, by peril, privation, and hardship, by the baptism of sorrow and discipline. The states within it they had built out of nothing from

Legitimate democracy

the wilds; but for them the land would have still been a waste. No wonder the men who from the memories of the past, the aspirations of the present, and the hopes of the future, had inhaled the air of liberty until their souls were permeated with its essence—that these were ready, when their rights or interests were imperiled, to draw the sword against their nominal suzerain.

America for Americans

The War of American Independence was an event of vast moment, affecting the destinies of all nations. The result was not alone the victory of one government over another: it was the birth of a new nation, the triumph of a political theory. The question ultimately decided by the conflict was whether the British plan of colonial government should be an arbitrary dictation by bureaus in England, too far off to decide rightly and too little interested to have any right to decide, or be based upon the great principles of English liberty and self-government. The results have been the grandest and most promising example of republican government in the history of the world, and a mighty system of self-governing colonies which is the hope and glory of the very British empire that thought such a system implied its own disintegration.

Principles of the Revolution

The first and general cause of the American Revolution was the attempt at arbitrary government by extending the operation of the royal prerogative and parliamentary control; rights which, always in direct conflict within Great Britain, were oddly united to subjugate the colonies. The prerogative, however, played a secondary part, and

Its causes

indeed the best colonial patriots often fell back on it as a bulwark from exactions of Parliament.[1] The machinery for this fusion of the two was provided by two or three hundred parliamentary "rotten" boroughs; that is, having no inhabitants or practically none. These were partly due to changes in population, seized on by the monarchs for their purposes, partly to deliberate creation under the Tudors. They were owned by nobility and gentry, who filled the seats with personal or party adherents, or now and then let in an honest and capable man; but as a whole, formed a body of members to be bought and sold for money or places or patronage.

Rotten boroughs

Parliamentary enactments were the chief active causes of the Revolution. The colonies had always admitted the right of Parliament to legislate in matters which concerned the welfare of the whole empire, such as the regulation of trade, though they persistently and successfully violated these laws when the welfare of their own trade was at stake. The laws of trade or "Navigation Acts" were intended to make of England a great workshop and clearing-house, in which raw materials from the colonies should be received to be returned again as finished products, and in which the English merchant as a jobber should have the middleman's profit. The products and trade of the colonies were encouraged and stimulated or

Parliament and prerogative

Navigation Acts

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[1] It will be remembered that James I. had used it to prevent Parliament giving Virginia a charter of *freedom;* the parts were now precisely reversed.

hampered and disallowed to serve these particular ends.

But little attention was paid to the Navigation Acts until the Restoration, when a similar enactment confirmed many of the provisions of the previous laws. Upon this re-enacted statute the later legal theory and practice of trade laws rested. It was entitled "An act for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation," and restricted trade to "vessels built and owned in England or any of the lands, islands, plantations, or territories belonging to or in possession of his Majesty, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners at least are English." The word English was interpreted to apply to men of English birth or naturalization in the colonies as well.

Navigation Act of the Restoration

Various articles of trade were classed in two groups, and were known as "enumerated" and "unenumerated," in modern phrase dutiable and free. The former were not to be taken to any other than English or colonial ports; the latter were subject only to the general restriction concerning the ownership and management of vessels. The act of the twelfth year of Charles II. enumerated sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, and fustic or other dyewoods, articles which were distinctively the product of the colonies, and which were likely to command a permanent market in Europe at prices set by the English distributor. Products which were of general growth, and in which competition might be expected, were in general on the "free list." These were grain,

Dutiable and free list

lumber, salted meats, fish, and rum. These England could not supply to the foreign trade in dominating quantities.

Phases of the Navigation Laws

The enumerated list varied from time to time with conditions of supply and demand, the necessities of the people, or the demands of the London merchants. A system of bounties and drawbacks encouraged various forms of colonial production, notably ship supplies and pig iron, and stimulated the colonial trade. At best, however, the laws were cumbersome restrictions or awkward helps to the trade which, unfettered, would have exceeded the hopes of those who fondly deluded themselves with the idea that they were fostering and increasing it. In many cases the laws if enforced would have prevented trade altogether, and under these circumstances they were very generally disregarded.

Berkeley on the laws

No man would think of accusing Sir William Berkeley of lacking respect for prerogative or English statutes, yet in 1671 he writes: "Many and destructive have been the obstructions to our trade by the act of Parliament which excludes us from having any commerce with any nation in Europe except our own. If this were for his Majesty's service or the good of the subject, we should not repine whatever our sufferings. But upon my soul it is contrary for both, and this is why no small or great vessels are built here. For we are most obedient to the laws, while New England now breaks through them and trades to any place that their instinct leads them to." Barbadoes complained of the grievances of the Navigation

Laws to the Board of Trade in 1676, and urged that free trade was necessary for settling new colonies. This was deemed dangerous doctrine in England. The Navigation Laws were laws of the land, and as such they must be respected.

Navigation Laws a battle-ground

Under the first two Hanoverians the policy of England toward the colonies was contradictory, weak, and demoralizing. Injurious laws were made, but they were not enforced. The constant danger of a fresh Stuart restoration, which weakened the aggressive force of the government, and tied its hands from alienating the good-will of or seriously antagonizing any of its centres of supply, was the life-blood of colonial liberty. The exports from were exceeded by the imports into the colonies by something over £150,000 during the first two years of George II.'s reign. At this the English merchants were alarmed, and demanded new restrictions upon colonial trade. England's own traders, they said, were now treated as foreigners within their own colonies. The West Indian colonies were jealous of those on the Continent, because of the flourishing trade of the latter with the Spanish and French West Indies. The Sugar Act of 1733 aroused a vehement protest in the North. Rhode Island held that the enforcement of the act would prejudice her charter; which provoked the retort in Parliament that there was no provision in their charter that prevented the House from taxing them as well as any other subjects.

Not enforced

English merchants angry

The Sugar Act

Parliamentary regulation was not solely confined to matters of trade. An act of William III.

nullified all colonial acts or usages repugnant to the laws of trade. One of Queen Anne reserved all trees twelve inches in diameter, and not in inclosed ground, for the use of the royal navy, another regulated the value of foreign coins, a third established the colonial post-office. These acts were for special purposes, however, and precedents might be found for them, or good reasons why Parliament should enact them. Moreover, they were not in any sense revenue bills, and hence aroused little or no opposition.

Colonial regulating laws

The most serious danger which threatened American liberty before the Revolutionary War was contained in a proposal of Governor Shirley to the Board of Trade in 1756. It was the idea of union again, which had been so full of terror for the colonies in the days of Andros, and had been revived in the Albany Congress of 1754 only to fail signally. Shirley proposed that the union be effected by act of Parliament, that a government be organized strong enough to smother discontent, to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to make the colonies an integral part of the British governmental system. Funds for the war were to be raised by a stamp tax, because of the uniformity of its distribution and the ease with which it could be collected.

Shirley's plan of colonial union

Meanwhile affairs in America waited upon the progress of the war. The fortunes of England sank lower and lower. Minorca surrendered to the Duc de Richelieu, Frederick the Great was defeated at Kolin, the Duke of Cumberland signed

The Seven Years' War in Europe

1755–62

the disgraceful "convention" (*sc.* surrender) of Closter-Seven, and Montcalm swept the northern frontier of the English colonies in America. In this extremity the nation turned to Pitt as its only savior, and with Pitt in power all plans for the taxation of America were dropped. Under the magic touch of the Great Commoner the forces and allies of England won victory after victory, and in the enthusiasm of success and the lust of conquest the colonies and England shared alike.

Pitt gives England victory

But William Pitt had been forced into office by the exigencies of war and the strength of his own popularity. On the 25th of October, 1760, George III. became King of England, and his friend and counsellor the Earl of Bute became one of the secretaries of state. George Grenville and Charles Townshend—names of ominous import to American ears—deserted Pitt to join their fortunes with those of Bute and the peace party. Pitt resigned from the Cabinet in October of 1761, and Newcastle soon followed him into retirement. The young king had disposed of the Whigs, and had scored his first political triumph. The treaty of peace was signed, after a hurried desertion of Frederick the Great which was not without influence on the American war.

George III. forces out Pitt and war party

The critical moment in the history of the American colonies had now come. Charles Townshend, brother of the general who had been second to Wolfe at Quebec and had boasted himself its real captor, was appointed president of the Board of Trade; and plans of restraint, of the

Charles Townshend

1762–3

Townshend's scheme

Stamp Act and Navigation Laws as means

enforcement of obnoxious laws, and of further taxation, were essential features of his policy. The limits of the province of Quebec were to be extended to include the territory about the Great Lakes and the Ohio, while a force was to be provided large enough to overcome the Indians, and if necessary enforce the will of the ministry in the colonies. A stamp tax was to afford the needed revenue; but as the first measure, Townshend proposed to enforce vigorously the navigation acts, for which purpose vessels of the royal navy were ordered to America. Smuggling had increased rapidly during the war. The colonies had supplied the French garrisons and fleets, and the French West Indies, with large quantities of food and other stores. Pitt protested and raged against this disloyal practice, and attempted to put a stop to it, without success. It was good policy, said the colonists, to make all they could out of their enemies. In fact, all countries have thus aided their foes since trade began: the Dutch victories over the Spaniards in their glorious war of liberation sometimes bankrupted the Dutch merchants who had financed the Spanish expeditions.

Anti-patriotic trade

But the Bute ministry was doomed from the day of its formation. The masses of the people distrusted Parliament, distrusted the ministers, and looked with suspicion upon the Crown. They had been led to expect a decrease in political corruption, but the methods were more rotten than before. The terms of peace were humiliating to the national pride. The strongholds of the Tory

Bute ministry disliked

party were in an uproar over a cider tax. Lord Bute was referred to everywhere in terms of contempt, even his fellow-members in the Cabinet refusing him support. Convinced of his inability to maintain his position, and hoping that his own retirement would remove a large part of the popular disfavor from the government, Bute resigned on the 8th of April, 1763; not however until he had chosen his successor, and arranged the wires by which he hoped to move the ministers as puppets on a stage.

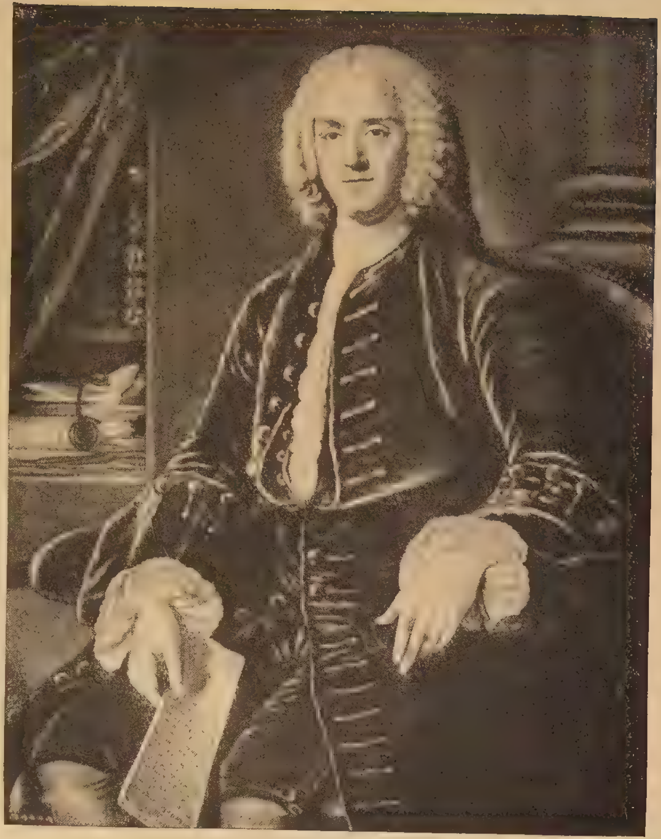
1763

Bute resigns

The successor of Bute was George Grenville, a narrow, pedantic, plodding man of business, possessing, says Lecky, "ordinary qualities to an extraordinary degree." He delighted in routine, and from his early training could never see beyond the barriers of strict legal form. No man understood constitutional procedure or precedent better than he, no man gave more conscientious unwearied attention to the minutiæ of political administration; but of the larger political sense, and that which differentiates a statesman from a chief clerk, he was almost destitute. His legal and constitutional temper led him to look with disfavor upon some plans which had been proposed for colonial government, such as the payment of salaries from the British treasury and the revocation of the colonial charters; while the same quality led him as strongly to the use of the means which he considered legal, the taxation of the colonies by act of Parliament to meet the expenses of the late war.

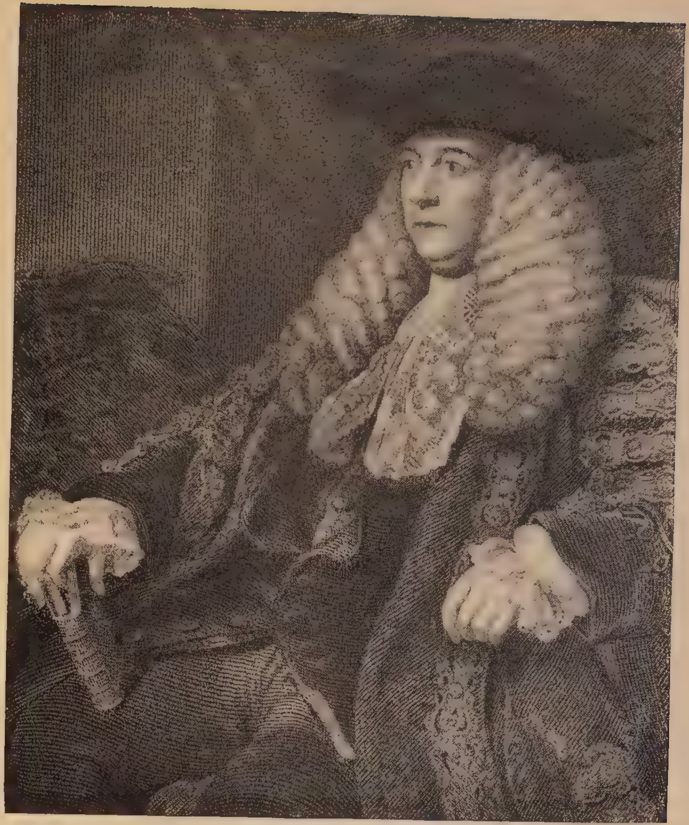
George Grenville

Narrow legality



GEORGE GRENVILLE.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)



LORD CAMDEN.

Meanwhile the cause of popular liberty in England was advanced by the contest with John Wilkes, a member of Parliament from Aylesbury. Wilkes was a profligate scoundrel, the son of a wealthy London distiller; a man of quick wit and unfailing good humor, of courage and judgment, but an adept in all the refined vices of the day, and noted for his profanity and obscenity in a set where such a badge of distinction was not easily won. In 1763 Wilkes published in No. 45 of his newspaper *The North Briton* a bitter attack upon the ministry, in the form of a criticism of the King's speech, to which he referred as the "most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind." The secretaries of state immediately issued general warrants for the arrest of Wilkes and about forty others on the charge of libel. Their private papers were seized, and Wilkes was committed to the Tower. He soon afterward applied for a writ of *habeas corpus,* which was granted by Chief Justice Pratt, better known to grateful Americans by his later title of Lord Camden. The decision of the chief justice was upon the ground of parliamentary privilege; but he took occasion to decide also that seizure of private papers upon the charge of libel was unwarranted by the law, and that general warrants issued by a secretary of state, whose powers were not greater than those of justices of the peace, were clearly illegal.

1763

John Wilkes

Arrested for libel

Camden against general warrants

This is not the time or place to relate the interesting story of Wilkes, or the attempts made by the party in power to crush him utterly. The city of London, the anti-prerogative party, championed his cause. He became a popular idol; and though he later lost, and for good reason, something of his popularity, the causes which he represented, parliamentary privilege and the freedom of the press, were amply vindicated. They were the last things *he* cared for: as Byron says, he "turned to half a courtier ere he died," and with shameless wit declared that he never was a "Wilkite."

1763–5

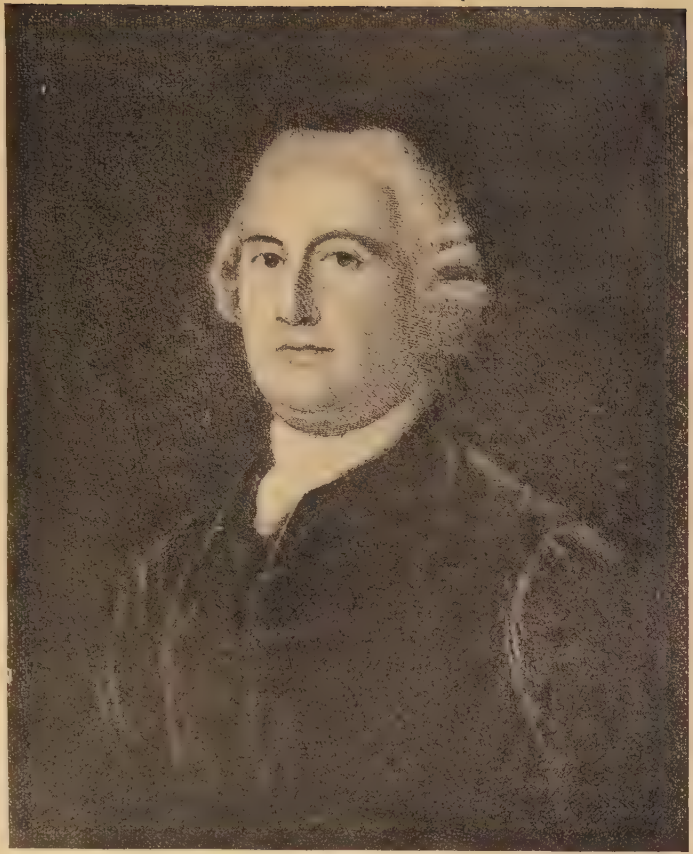
Wilkes' career

In addition to the uproar over Wilkes, there were other outbreaks which gave evidence of the deep-seated popular discontent. Unusual taxation weighed heavily on the people. The leaders of both parties were distrusted. In May of 1765 there was a fierce riot among the silk-weavers of Spitalfields, directed against the Duke of Bedford. The regency bill of the same year opened the King's eyes to the duplicity of some of the ministry. Bute was exceedingly unpopular with nearly all classes; and the King, to use his own words, "would rather see the Devil than George Grenville." After attempts to form a ministry under the leadership of Pitt, an Old Whig ministry was formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham at its head.

Discontent and faction

In the midst of this political bedlam the first battle was fought over American affairs, the immediate occasion being the attempt to enforce the Navigation Act. It had been the custom in England, dating from a statute of Charles II., for

Navigation Act in America



FRANCIS BERNARD.

THOMAS POWNALL.

the Court of Exchequer to grant general warrants (called "writs of assistance") to customs officers, allowing them to search any place where they had reason to believe that smuggled goods might be concealed. By a law of William III. the power of issuing these writs had been conferred on provincial superior courts; but little use had been made of it until the increasing vigilance of the customs officers led to its revival.

Writs of Assistance

Such writs were not likely to be granted in Massachusetts, where the chief justice doubted their legality; but that office becoming vacant by death, Thomas Hutchinson, judge of probate for Suffolk County, and lieutenant-governor of the province,—a native of Massachusetts, but a firm believer in what he thought the only legal basis of public order,—was appointed its incumbent. The succession had been promised by Governor Pownall to the elder Otis, who held the writs illegal; but Bernard now sat in Pownall's seat. This appointment was an open declaration that the Governor intended to grant the writs and enforce them. The younger Otis was advocate-general, and to him would have fallen the duty of defending them: he resigned his office rather than act contrary to his convictions, and with Oxenbridge Thacher argued against them before the court.

Massachusetts government prepares to enforce them

The Otises

Thacher opposed the writ on grounds of precedent; but Otis went deeper, and reasoned, as did Henry in another case, from the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. The burden of his argument was that general warrants

Younger Otis' argument

1760-1

James Otis against writs of assistance

were unconstitutional, though sanctioned by act of Parliament; that they had their rise in oppression, and had never been generally applied. "They were," said he, "the worst instruments of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever were found in an English law-book." They violated a cardinal principle of English liberty, that every man's house is his castle. They were not issued to special officers, but even in the history of the province had been transferred from one officer to another. Worst of all, they were not returnable; and writs were by their nature temporary, terminating when their purpose was answered. These, once granted, were good for a lifetime. Moreover, they could be and had been used to gratify private malice and the spirit of revenge.

Issued but not safe to use

The effect of the case was immediate and wide-spread. The decision was reserved for another term, when advices supporting the writs were received, and they were accordingly issued; but so powerful was public opinion that not a great deal of use was made of them. In Massachusetts, parties were formed and agitation began. John Adams, who was present when the writs were argued, could not thereafter read one of the acts of trade "without a curse." In May of 1761 Otis was elected to the Assembly from Boston.

Meanwhile other causes of discontent were operating elsewhere. It was in 1761 that Virginia

1761–66

Tightening the reins on the colonies

protested vainly against the slave-trade, and proposed a tax on each slave imported. South Carolina also was prevented from restraining the importation of slaves. In New York the chief justice was appointed during the king's pleasure, notwithstanding the province's rule of appointment during good behavior. Even the higher officials adopted the colonial side of the controversy, but upon recommendation of the Board of Trade the appointment was confirmed. An attempt to control the office through the power of granting salaries was frustrated by payment from royal quit-rents.

American bishopric proposed

Among the causes of discontent was the attempt often made before, but now renewed, to establish an Anglican bishopric in America. Naturally the chief seat of opposition was in New England, though it was by no means confined to that locality. At one time Dean Swift was mentioned for the place. Various other candidates had been proposed, and in 1751 the scheme was frustrated, chiefly through the efforts of English dissenters. In the New England colonies the ministers of the Established Church had been sent first as missionaries to the Indians, but they found similar work among the New England Puritans to be more congenial. There their greatest activity was displayed. In 1766 the Episcopal clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met in convention to further the appointment of an American bishop. The Congregationalists of Connecticut and the Presbyterians of New York and

1760–6

American bishopric proposed

Pennsylvania met in New York to concert measures for the defeat of the plan. Even throughout the south, the stronghold of the Established Church, there was general opposition, because such a bishop would be an appointee of Parliament, controlling an enormous political power adverse to colonial interests; no such creation of a huge foreign political "machine" could possibly be allowed.

English misunderstanding of colonies

The unrest of the colonists was augmented by the knowledge that parliamentary taxation, though apparently given up for a time, was by no means abandoned in England. Practically no one there denied the abstract right of Parliament to tax the colonies. It seemed a thing anomalous that the King's subjects should deny the right of the King's government to impose taxes. They had been led to believe that colonial resistance was the work of factions; either discontented office-seekers, or levelers evilly disposed to all government with sufficient force and stability to protect persons and property and enforce the laws. Some men, indeed, saw the danger in the issue; but their reasonings were on the one hand too abstract, and on the other too closely connected with the political manœuvres of the opposition, to obtain the hearing to which they were entitled.

New territories

The treaty of Paris, 1763, transferred to the British government the recent French possessions west of the Mississippi, with East and West Florida. These were organized into the three provinces of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida;

and encouragement was given to settlers, particularly soldiers of the late war, to whom large grants of land were promised. It was planned to keep twenty battalions, a total force of ten thousand men, to secure the new settlements from Indian attacks; and governments similar to those of the other North American colonies were promised as soon as the nature of the settlements would permit. The valley of the Ohio, however, was not included in these provisions. This was for the time reserved for the sole use of the Indians, and settlements were prohibited. All land purchases and Indian treaties were reserved to the Crown. This provision conflicted with several colonial charters, and was regarded with disfavor by those colonies which had already purchased Western lands and were looking forward to speedy settlement. Attempts, public or private, to keep America half a wilderness were doomed to failure.

1762

English provisions to colonize new territories

Reservations

Pontiac's War seemed to confirm the necessity for a standing army to keep the Indians in check. This meant additional expense, and the English government had promised the taxpayer some speedy relief from his burdens. To secure this, but one way seemed open, and that was the taxation of the American colonies.

Standing army thought needful

After the succession of Grenville to the position left vacant by the retirement of Lord Bute, the plan moved forward rapidly. Within a month the Board of Trade had been asked to suggest a safe and satisfactory way to tax the colonies; but Lord Shelburne, president of the Board, who was

To be paid for by taxation

not only opposed to the tax but to restrictions on trade as well, declined to assist the ministry. The next step was a proposal to extend the stamp duties to America by act of Parliament; a proposal which seems due at this time to Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool), the First Lord of the Treasury. The plan had been suggested before, even from colonial sources; and the time seemed ripe for acting upon it.

1763

Proposal for stamp duties

Grenville was not disposed to be precipitate in his scheme of taxation. Early in March of 1764 he introduced in Parliament a series of resolutions which provided for an income from the colonies, suggesting a stamp tax as the method, but delaying a final vote until the next session of Parliament in order to allow the colonists time to suggest other modes of obtaining money which might be more agreeable to them. The amount to be raised by the tax was estimated at about £100,000. All payments were to be made to the colonial treasuries, and to remain there. Certificates of these deposits were to be sent to the English exchequer; and after the colonial departments of justice and civil administration had been paid, the surplus was to be disposed of by act of Parliament for colonial purposes only.

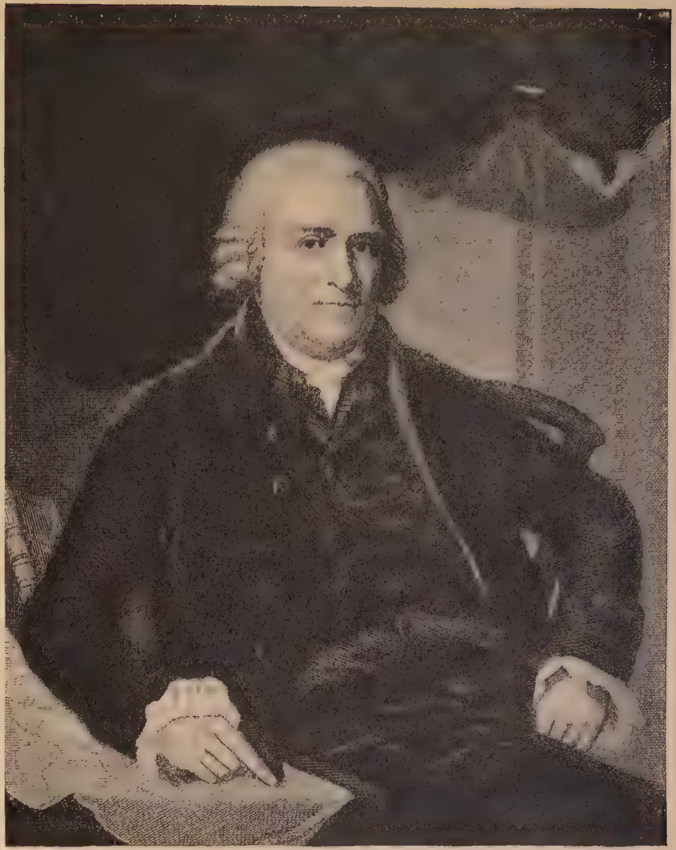
Introduced in Parliament

Details

But two of the colonial agents replied to Grenville's advances. These agreed that the colonies which they represented would raise their proportion of the money required, by methods of their own; but the agents themselves were obliged to confess that they had no instructions from home,

Slack replies from colonies

SAMUEL ADAMS IN MIDDLE AGE.



SAMUEL ADAMS IN OLD AGE.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

and that these statements were made upon their own responsibility. It would seem that Grenville offered the colonies the opportunity to establish the precedent of colonial approval of acts of Parliament before these were submitted to vote; but if so, the attitude of the people of America should have shown him the dangerous ground upon which he stood. Grenville proposed to force the question of parliamentary taxation. The colonists were equally determined to oppose it.

1763–4

Colonial choice of methods

In England there was little talk about the act until the debates in Parliament, and even less doubt of the justice of the principle of taxation. The colonies acted more quickly and vigorously. The first protest came from Boston in May of 1764, in the form of a series of resolutions drawn up by Samuel Adams, the father of independence, and adopted in Boston town meeting. These resolutions later took the form of instructions to the representatives in the assembly, urging them to maintain the rights of the colony under the charter. The colonial agent in London was directed to assure the ministry of the loyalty of the province; of their dependence on the British government, and of their submission to the laws of trade. He was to remonstrate against the proposed Stamp Act because it would destroy the rights of taxation and of government, and would subvert all their liberties. Finally the Assembly was asked to confer with the other colonies, "that by the united application of all who are aggrieved, all may happily obtain redress."

Boston protests against stamp tax

Instructions to Assembly and agent

1764–5

General Court and Otis on colonial rights

The General Court met on the week following the adoption of these resolves, and on the 13th of June adopted a report containing a statement of the rights of the colonies and instructions for their agent in London. Meanwhile James Otis published his "Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved," in which he took the ground that by the British Constitution the colonies had the right of governing and taxing themselves in their local assemblies. Especially did he dwell upon the theory of natural rights. Men were by nature free; the object of government was to secure the life and liberty of the governed. This little pamphlet was read throughout the colonies, and was reprinted in London, contributing not a little to a true appreciation of American opinion.

Committees of correspondence appointed

In June the Massachusetts Assembly had appointed a committee to acquaint the other colonies with the instructions sent to the Massachusetts agent, and to ask their co-operation to defeat the plans of the British ministry. Rhode Island, North Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, and South Carolina protested against the proposed act, and sooner or later appointed committees to correspond with the other colonies. Virginia sent a petition to the King and a memorial to the House of Lords. The Rhode Island Assembly printed at public expense "The Rights of the Colonies," by Stephen Hopkins the governor. Among the strongest arguments against taxation were those of Hutchinson, contained in a letter to Conway, in which he emphasized the fact, too often forgotten, that colonial interests were distinct from English interests; that the colonies had cost England nothing and had increased her wealth to a wonderful degree. He showed, moreover, that the colonies had contributed more than their share for the late war, and that they would as in the past protect their frontiers from savage inroads. Putting the case purely on the ground of expediency, he predicted that no advantages could come from the revenue; that England would lose more than she would gain; that the true policy was to avoid taxation and profit by the increase of trade.

1764–5

Hutchinson against colonial taxation

Protest, argument, and appeal had no effect upon the ministry or the passage of the act. By no other means could the government keep the promises made to relieve the taxation of the moneyed class. The ministry sought to arouse the nation's pride by representing the colonies as undutiful children, wishing to dishonor and disown the control of the mother country. As a matter of fact, England had not then, or for a long time thereafter, a correct conception of the American position and sentiment. When English merchants expressed the fear that taxation would lead to a decrease of trade and uncertainty of payment of the four millions then owing to them, Grenville proposed bounties which should offer the greatest encouragement to American producers. Englishmen considered that the whole question with the Americans was the matter of money. Actually the money was nothing, but principle everything.

English obstinacy

1765

Debate in Parliament on stamp tax

When the preliminary resolutions were proposed in Parliament, Grenville had little difficulty in defending the measure. Two or three voices were heard pleading for the colonies and defending them against malicious charges. To Townshend's implied slur that the colonies would refuse to contribute from mercenary motives only, Isaac Barré, who knew the colonies well and had won distinction in the Seven Years' War, defended them warmly. In a speech, an extract from which was for many years a favorite piece for declamation on American school platforms, he denied that England had ever fostered the colonies for other than selfish motives. The growth of the colonies was due in reality to the neglect of the mother country. He predicted that the spirit of freedom would still accompany and guide these "Sons of Liberty," who, though loyal to the king, were jealous of their liberties and would vindicate them if they were violated.

Barré

Act passes Parliament

The act was brought into Parliament on the 13th of February, 1765, and passed the first reading without debate. Later, petitions were presented against it which the House refused to consider, justifying itself by the old precedent of not receiving petitions against money bills. On the 8th of March the bill passed the House of Lords, apparently without a remark of dissent. Even the colonial agents in London did not believe the execution of the act would be opposed, and some of them solicited offices under it for their friends at home. On the 22d of March the bill became a law. "The sun of American liberty has set," wrote Benjamin Franklin to a friend at home. "Now we must light the lamps of industry and economy." "Be assured," said the friend in reply, "that we shall light torches of another sort." And the answer reflected the sentiment of the whole country. **1765**

The Stamp Act

By the terms of the act, legal documents of whatever sort, required in the colonies, should be executed on paper bearing an English stamp. Simple and common documents, such as pleas, replications, rejoinders, or demurrers, bore a duty of three pence; admissions to bail paid two shillings; appeals, writs of error, writs of dower, ten shillings; donations and collations to any benefice, and certificates of any degree taken in any university, academy, college, or seminary bore a stamp duty of two pounds. Licenses of appointment as counsellors or solicitors to practice law in the colonies paid ten pounds. Licenses for retailing spirituous liquors and wines varied from twenty shillings to four pounds. A pack of playing cards paid one shilling, a pair of dice ten. Newspapers, pamphlets, calendars, almanacs paid duty varying from a halfpenny to a shilling. All papers and receipts in transactions of purchase and sale were untaxed. Certain exceptions were also made of proclamations, forms of prayer, printed votes of the assemblies, school-books, and books of devotion. The act was so framed that it must be obeyed or public business would stand still; the courts could not continue, the ordinary

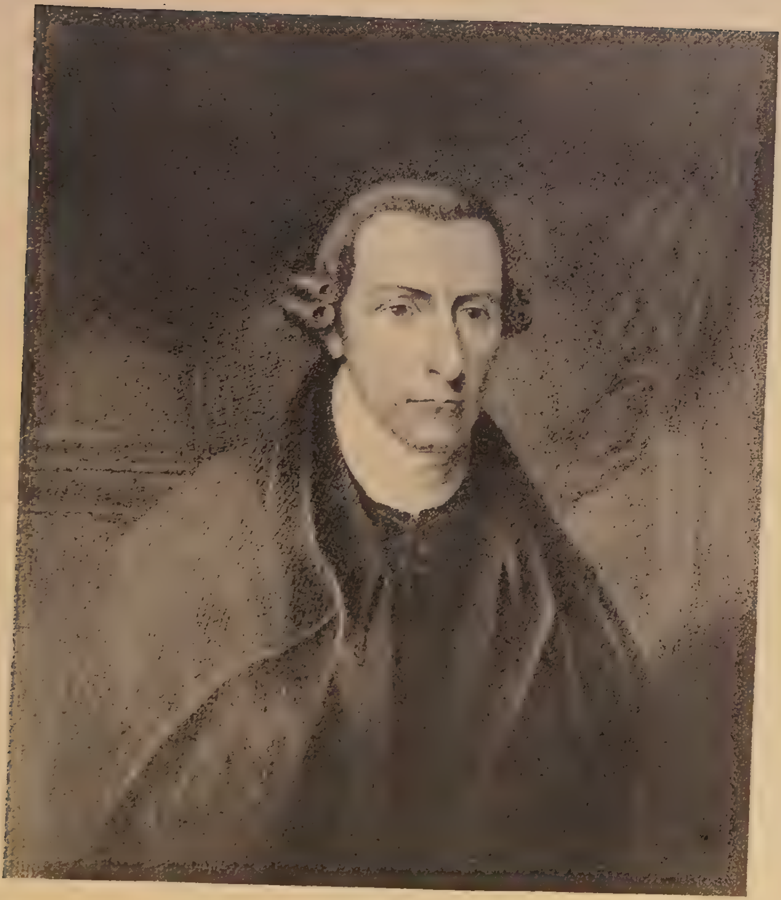
1765 operations of daily life would be almost impossible. There was but one way out of it, and that the colonies adopted.

Uproar over Stamp Act

Meanwhile the sentiment of the American people rose with the certainty of the passing of the act. The people were at first despairing, then indignant, then full of wrath. Governor Bernard wrote to the Board of Trade, "Real authority of government is at an end." From spasmodic outbreaks to systematic, organized resistance was but a step; and that step, once taken, rendered the execution of the Stamp Act in America forever impossible. The Assembly of Virginia was in session when the news arrived in May, that the Stamp Act had passed. The conservative element seemed to hesitate, and in many of the other colonies the idea that obedience was necessary was gaining ground. Hutchinson said, "It is impossible to evade the act, and it will execute itself." So indeed it seemed; for there was but one way, and that was to nullify the act utterly, and nullification meant revolution or the retreat of the ministry from their position.

Patrick Henry

Patrick Henry had been elected a member of the Virginia Assembly to fill a vacancy from Louisa County. He had been present but a few days, and scarcely knew the temper and opinions of his fellow members. There were older men from whom the initiative might have been expected. But the end of the session approached, and the opportunity seemed about to be lost, when Mr. Henry proposed a series of five resolutions,



PATRICK HENRY.

containing the doctrine that the inhabitants of Virginia by reason of their English blood had inherited all the rights of British subjects; that these had never been relinquished or abridged, but on the contrary had been recognized by the British government and the English people. The first and most important of these inherited privileges was the right of taxation by their own representatives, and the settlement of their own internal policy. Two other resolutions were offered, declaring that the people of Virginia were exempt from obedience to any law of taxation which did not proceed from their own Assembly, and styling any one holding a contrary opinion a public enemy. This was so extreme a protest that many of patriotic principles but less patriotic fire could not join in it. But the eloquence of Henry swayed the house in spite of all misgivings and opposition. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus; Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—" Cries of "Treason" interrupted the speaker, who had doubtless expected interruption, and prepared his pause and his rhetorical anticlimax when quiet was restored: "—may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The five resolutions passed the House by small majorities. The following day an attempt was made to rescind the whole; but only the fifth was defeated. The report of the meeting spread throughout the country, and encouraged resistance everywhere. With Massachusetts and Virginia to lead, the support of the remaining colonies was assured.

1765

Patrick Henry's resolutions

His famous speech

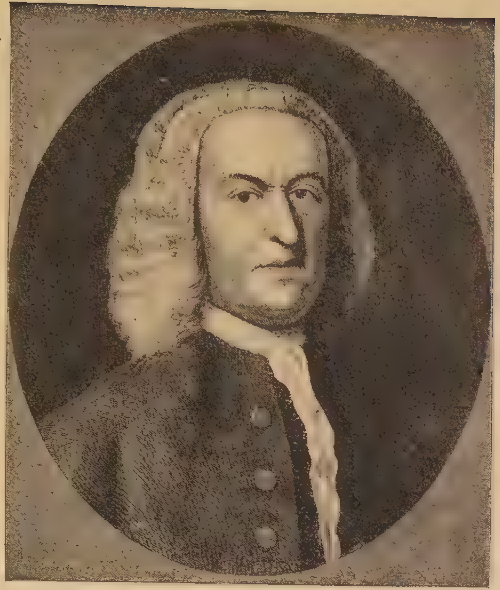
Resolutions pass

1765

Uprising over the Stamp Act

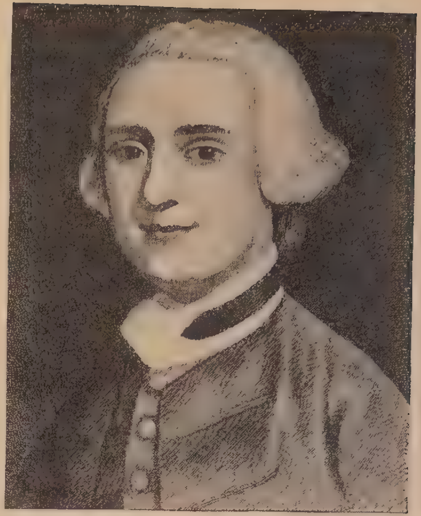
When the news reached America that the Stamp Act had passed through all the necessary steps and had become a law, and when the sentiment of America had taken shape under official protest and enactment, public resentment broke forth in a fashion that could not be controlled. Shipping in the harbors displayed their colors at half-mast. The act was carried about the streets, labeled "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." "The *Constitutional Courant,* containing matters interesting to liberty and nowise repugnant to loyalty, printed by Andrew Marvel at the sign of the Bribe refused, Constitution Hill, North America" displayed a snake cut in pieces, each piece bearing the initial of a colony, and above them the legend "Join or die." The Act and the effigies of those most concerned in framing it were burned. In August there were serious riots in Boston. The effigies of Andrew Oliver, Stamp Commissioner for Boston, and of Lord Bute, were burned. A small brick-and-wood house on Oliver's dock, which the people supposed was to be used as a stamp office, was torn down and the wood carried to Fort Hill and burned. Oliver's fence was added to the flames. The mob then surrounded his house, shattered the windows, and entering, broke up the furniture. The houses of Story, the deputy register of the Admiralty Court, and Hallowell, comptroller of customs, were entered, goods were burned and furniture destroyed. The mob, drunk and maddened by the liquors found in Hallowell's cellar, then went to the house of Lieutenant-Governor

Boston riots



ANDREW OLIVER, MASSACHUSETTS.

JARED INGERSOLL, CONNECTICUT.



JAMES McEVERS, NEW YORK.

A TRIO OF STAMP AGENTS.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

Hutchinson, forced the family to flee for their lives, broke open the house, looted it for four hours, took away nine hundred pounds in cash, and left the house a mere shell. Among the most serious losses, which money could not replace, was a precious collection of manuscripts concerning the early history of the colony, which the Governor had been collecting for thirty years. The mob was composed of many countrymen, the lower classes, and even boys from fourteen to twenty. The Assembly and the people generally disapproved and deplored this act of violence; but the rioters, though known, were not punished. Scenes such as these went far to confirm unfavorable opinion in England, and to give to American resistance a mobbish look from which in the general case it was singularly free. But popular movements can never eliminate the rabble.

1765

Hutchinson's house sacked

Meanwhile the "Sons of Liberty" had organized in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and had begun a systematic intimidation of the stamp officers. These were compelled to resign, and the stamps upon their arrival were seized and burned, or remained unpacked, or were in some cases exposed to the view and derisive comments of the people before their destruction. The effect was felt even in London, where shipmasters refused to take the stamps as part of their cargo. As early as July the merchants were affected by the temper of America. Factories were idle and trade decreased. In the colonies local parties disappeared, and men

"Sons of Liberty" riots

English trade badly hurt

began to consider how they might be freed from the necessity of importing English goods by establishing manufactures of their own.

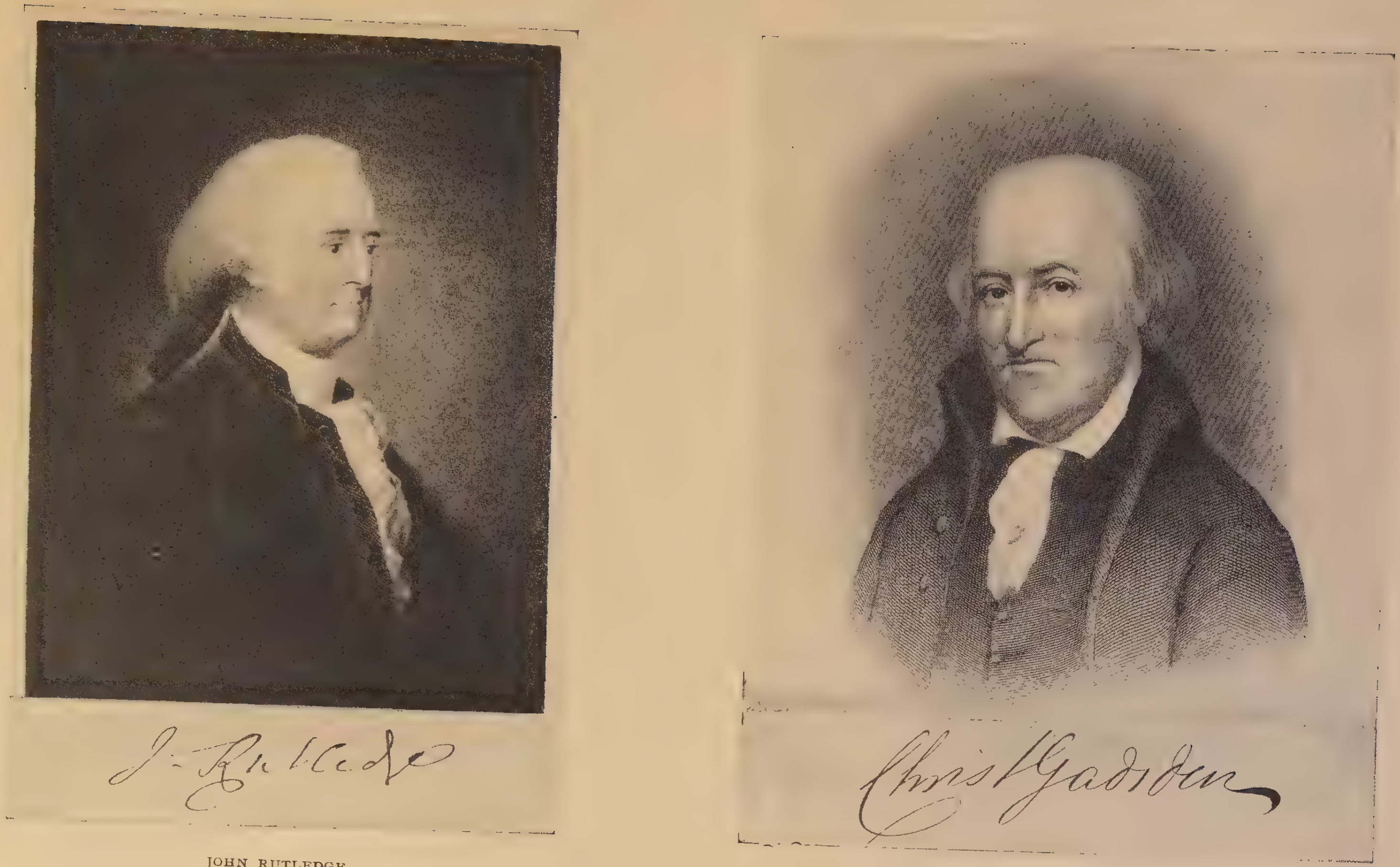
1765

Stamp Act ignored

All business threatened to stand still; but the people, having destroyed the stamps, proceeded with their affairs as usual. The official machinery of the colonies continued to work, and even the governors, who were under heavy penalties to enforce the act, were obliged to issue clearances unstamped to departing vessels. In Canada some publishers who used stamps could find no sale for their papers. In the West Indies the act was enforced except in St. Christopher's, where the people burned the stamps, and then crossing to the neighboring island of Nevis, helped in the same laudable work.

Stamp Act Congress

The Stamp Act Congress summoned by the Massachusetts Assembly in June met in New York in October, for the purpose of considering the difficulties of the colonies and concerting the means of abating or removing them. The instructions to the delegates are definite, and assume the right of control by the Assemblies. The delegates of Massachusetts were directed not to admit that the colonies were represented in Parliament, and to insist upon the impracticability of such representation; those of Connecticut were not to admit the colony as bound by the vote of a majority in the Congress. The New York Committee on Correspondence deputed certain of its members to attend, instructing them to protest not only against the Stamp Act, but against the act forbidding paper



JOHN RUTLEDGE.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

SOUTH CAROLINA LEADERS IN THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

money and the oppressive laws of trade. Pennsylvania and New Jersey instructed their representatives to join those of the other colonies in a petition and protest to the King. Fifteen of the eighteen members of the Delaware Assembly sent three of their number to represent them. The delegates of Maryland were to "humbly and decently" but expressly assert "the rights of the colonies to be exempt from all and every taxation and imposition upon their persons and properties to which they do not consent in a legislative way, either by themselves or by their representatives by them freely chosen and appointed."

1762

Stamp Act Congress: instructions to delegates

South Carolina appointed delegates; Georgia and New Hampshire approved the Congress, and agreed to indorse its action. The assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina were not in session, hence appointments were not made by those colonies.

The Congress met the 7th of October, chose Timothy Ruggles as its chairman and John Cotton as its clerk, and adopted the rule that each colony should have one vote. For three weeks the Congress was in session, and in that time discussed thoroughly the questions disturbing the public peace. A Declaration of Rights was adopted owning allegiance to the Crown; claiming all the rights of English-born subjects; expressing the opinion that representation in the Parliament of Great Britain was not possible; insisting upon the fundamental right of levying their own taxes, and protesting against the Stamp Act and the laws of

Action taken

trade. In addition to the declaration a petition was drafted to be sent to the King, another to the Commons, and a memorial to the House of Lords. The principles explained in these documents and the relief prayed for were substantially the same as expressed in the Declaration of Rights.

1765

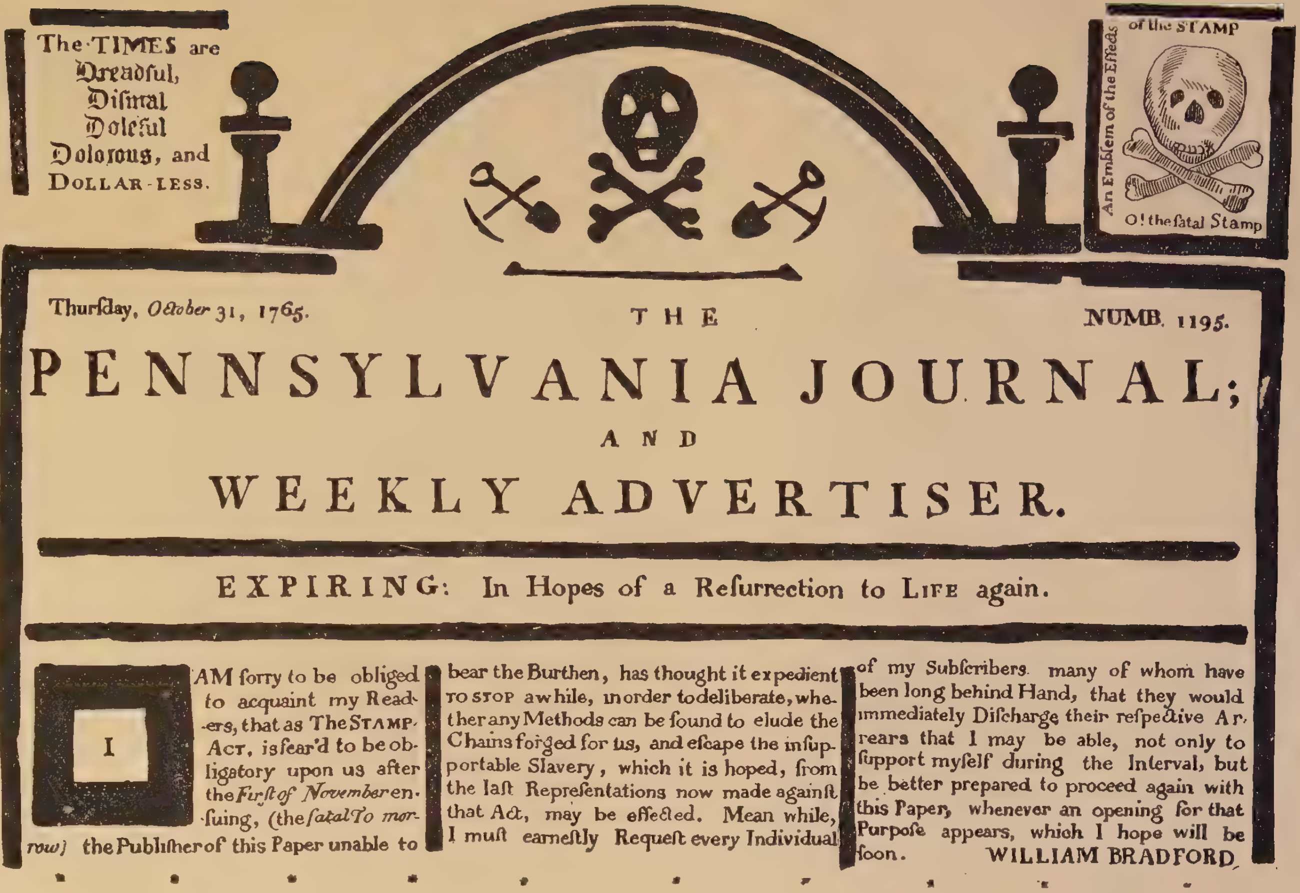
The ministry in England, in the mean time, had sunk under the burdens of other mistakes as serious as the Stamp Act. When the temper of the colonies became well known in England, there was much popular pressure for the repeal of this pernicious law, and repeal became a part of the programme of the new ministry. The Americans were encouraged to maintain the stand they had taken, and were led to expect ultimate success.

English pressure to repeal the Act

Franklin was summoned before a committee of the House of Commons, and in the course of the examination explained the workings and probable effects of the various acts against the colonies. There was not, he said, enough gold and silver in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year. The imports in Pennsylvania alone amounted to half a million pounds, the exports to not more than forty thousand. The difference was made up by the West India trade or trade with the other colonies. This produced enough specie to enable them to pay the balances due the British merchants. Obstruction of this trade would reduce the resources of the colonies and commerce with England. As to bearing a part of the national burden, the colonies had raised and equipped twenty-five thousand men at a cost of many millions. The

Franklin as to its effects

And justice



The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Diſmal
Doleful
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.

An Emblem of the Effects
of the STAMP
O! the fatal Stamp

Thurſday, *October* 31, 1765.

NUMB. 1195.

THE PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

I AM ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is ſear'd to be obligatory upon us after the *Firſt of November* enſuing, (the *fatal To morrow*) the Publiſher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient TO STOP awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the laſt Repreſentations now made againſt that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every Individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Diſcharge their reſpective Arrears that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

feeling in the colonies toward Great Britain had been the friendliest until 1763. Now that feeling had changed to one of suspicion and hostility. The colonists would not submit to the Stamp Act, nor would they allow the right of the British Parliament to levy internal taxes.

1765–6

Non-importation agreement

Another form of organization, which had no small effect upon public sentiment in England, was the non-importation agreement, which originated in New York in November of 1765 and soon thereafter spread to Massachusetts and Boston. The signers of the agreement pledged themselves to import no English goods so long as their grievances were unredressed. Later, non-importation became non-consumption. The products of the colonies became fashionable. Users of English wares were regarded everywhere as traitors to their country.

English distress

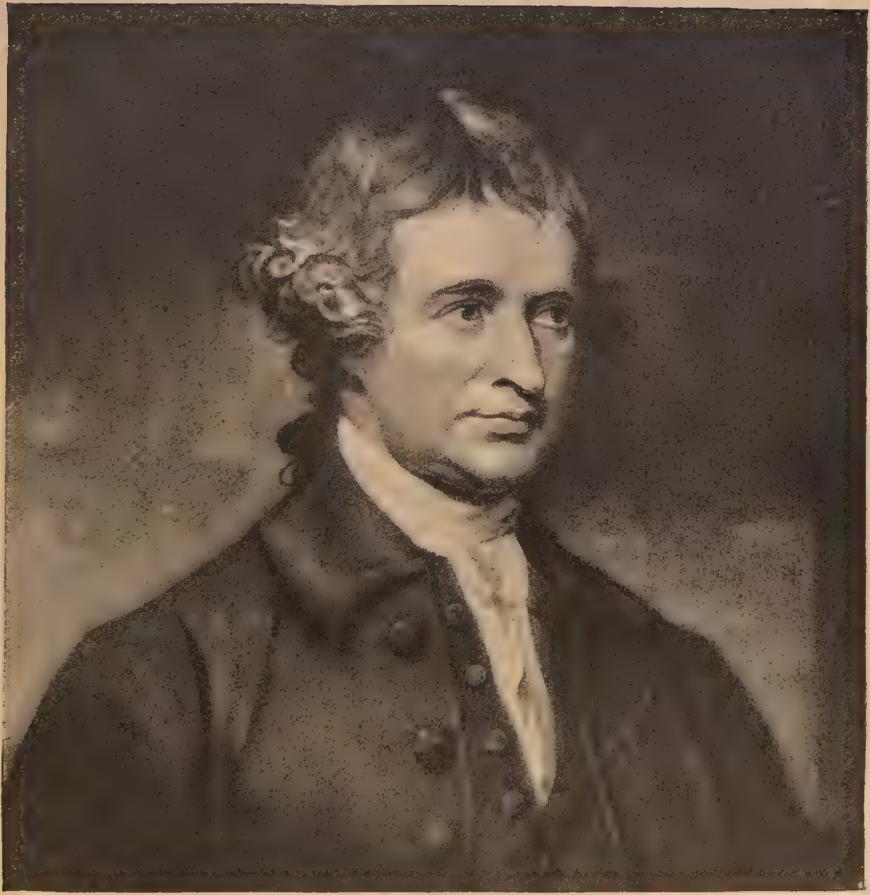
The end of the year 1765 saw wide-spread distress in England. Commerce had decreased to an unusual and alarming degree, the factories were closed, thousands were living in enforced idleness, the price of living steadily increased. The ministry was restricted to a choice of evils. Upon their shoulders fell the burden of the Stamp Act, upon which they had insisted in spite of the consequences that had been foretold. It seemed and was impossible to enforce the act; to repeal it seemed to them a sacrifice of something of the dignity of the Crown and the nation.

When Parliament met in January of 1766, petitions were presented from the merchants of London, Lancaster, Bristol, Liverpool, and many other trading towns of the kingdom. In these 1766 the petitioners showed the great decrease of trade due to the American situation, and begged for the intervention of Parliament to prevent their utter destruction. Georgia and Virginia, who had not been represented in the Stamp Act Congress, yet presented petitions through their agents asserting their inability to pay the stamp and other duties, and praying for their repeal.

Petitions for repeal of Stamp Act

During the debates which preceded the repeal of the Stamp Act, the two great questions were the right of taxation and the expediency of the laws as passed. That the laws were unwise and irritating needed no proof; but the first of these two questions enlisted the efforts of the greatest and ablest of English statesmen. From the doctrine of national rights, from the history of the British Constitution, from the precedents of English laws, all possible arguments were drawn that could apply to the case. To the claim that the colonists could be taxed only by their own representatives, the reply was made that there must be a general government somewhere; that the local differences, to say nothing of jealousies, made dependence on the one hand and protection on the other necessary for the welfare of the colonies; and where was this to be found except in the legislative body of the empire, the British Parliament? The impossibility of representation of the colonies in that body was generally admitted on both sides the water, but it was urged that only one *Englishman* in nine voted. Great cities had no members in the

English arguments pro and con



EDMUND BURKE.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

Commons, but the Commons represented every English subject wherever he might be.

1776

In reply to this theory, the argument used by most of the American writers is practically unanswerable. The members of the Commons in taxing Englishmen levied sums which they or their constituents did actually pay; if the tax was heavy or ill-advised, they experienced personally the evils of it: but in taxing the colonies, they were imposing burdens upon a people three thousand miles away. No part of the payment could possibly fall on them or their constituents, and here in fact was the real danger to colonial institutions. For a legislator to tax himself and his fellow-citizens was an altogether different thing from his levying taxes upon men not his fellow-citizens, and taxes from which he himself was exempt. Not only so, but the appeals, the remonstrances, the threats of his neighbors and of places familiar to him had a very different effect from the clamors of people thousands of miles off, of whom he knew and for whom he cared nothing.

American argument against taxation by England

Pitt and Burke in the House of Commons, and Camden in the House of Lords, were the champions of the cause of the colonies. Stung by Grenville's charge that the resistance of America was due to factions in England, Pitt replied, "Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest;" and Camden said, "My position is this: I repeat

Pitt and Camden champion America

it; I will maintain it to my last hour: taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; nay, more, it is of itself an eternal law of nature."

1766

Camden on taxation vs. representation

The ministry steered their way cautiously through a most difficult channel. They expressed in the strongest terms the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies, but consented to the repeal of the Stamp Act upon the simple ground of expediency. In this way they hoped to vindicate the injured honor of the country, while at the same time they satisfied the British merchants and granted the appeals of the colonies. Upon the final vote, the bill for repeal passed the Commons by a majority of one hundred and nine, and the Lords by a majority of thirty-four. On the 18th of March the King approved this measure, which, says Burke, "caused a more universal joy throughout the British dominions than perhaps any other that can be remembered." The vessels in the Thames were decked with flags, warehouses and shops showed signs of life, all classes of Englishmen hoped for better times.

Stamp Act repealed

Throughout the colonies there was an outbreak of popular rejoicing. Bonfires blazed, debtors were released from prisons, orators congratulated the people upon the victory they had won, statues were voted, Boston erected a huge pyramid of two hundred and eighty lamps surmounted by figures of the King and Queen. The Declaratory Act was forgotten in the general satisfaction which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act and changes

American rejoicing

in the laws of trade. There were men in the colonies, however, who believed that the struggle had just begun. Christopher Gadsden of North Carolina, a member of the Stamp Act Congress, pledged some of his friends to assist him in resisting future aggressions. Moreover, the colonies considered the action of England as a substantial recognition of the justice of their position, and gathered new strength and courage for succeeding contests.

1766

Colonies still vigilant

The Rockingham ministry, which was a makeshift affair from the first, was dissolved in the summer of 1766. Much against his will, the King was compelled by popular opinion to call upon Pitt to assume the official direction, though not the nominal leadership, of the new Cabinet. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, took the office of Privy Seal, the Earl of Shelburne became Secretary of State, Camden Lord Chancellor. With one exception, all the ability and influence were enlisted in the cause of the colonies. Charles Townshend, the brilliant orator but unscrupulous politician, proposed as Chancellor of the Exchequer—urged on by his principles, his ambition, and the influence of the King—the acts which became the cause of the second struggle with America. The removal of Pitt to the upper house weakened his hitherto unrivaled control over the people, the mysterious illness which clouded the later years of his life deprived his associates of his advice when most needed, the introduction of some of the "King's friends" into office supplied elements of discord. Contrary to the declared policy of the ministry,

Pitt's new ministry

Charles Townshend

1767–9

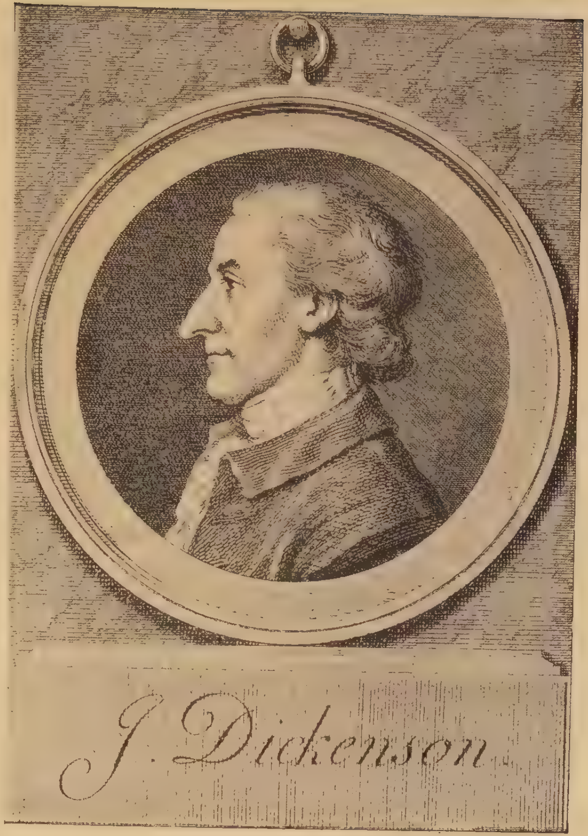
Townshend's plan

Townshend strove to win popularity by decreasing taxes at home at the expense of the colonies, at the same time providing for an army in America, and —in answer to constant appeals from office-holders in America—for the payment of the colonial governors and judges.

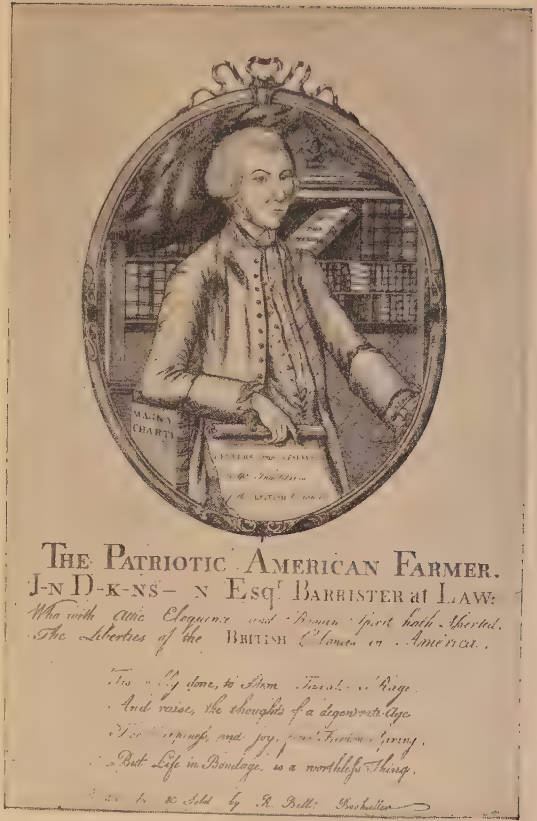
Growing friction

Meanwhile the colonies had many causes of discontent. In Massachusetts the act of Parliament directing indemnity for sufferers from the Stamp Act riots was nullified in terms which could not be mistaken. The Assembly were willing to pass such acts, but of their own accord, and accompanied by amnesty for the rioters. Rhode Island postponed the consideration of an indemnity act. Massachusetts engaged in a quarrel with the Governor over appointments to the Council and supplies for troops. New York refused to comply with the exact terms of the Quartering Act, and was punished by suspension of all legislation. For two years the Assembly resisted, but in 1769 passed the required bills. The act for establishing customs commissioners in America tended to a more thorough organization and working of the commercial system, and opened a large number of offices to English appointees. To support this machinery, and pay the royal governors' salaries of £200 each and justices' of £500, duties were levied (June, 1767) on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, some sixty different grades of paper, and three pence a pound on tea. Drawbacks were allowed on coffee and cocoa, and a special act was passed to encourage the importation of tea.

New duties



JOHN DICKINSON.


MAGNA CHARTA

THE PATRIOTIC AMERICAN FARMER.
J-N D-K-NS-N ESQ^r BARRISTER at LAW:
Who with Attic Eloquence and Roman Spirit hath Asserted.
The Liberties of the BRITISH *Colonies in America.*

'Tis nobly done, to Stem Taxation's Rage
And raise, the thoughts of a degenerate Age
For Happiness, and joy, from Freedom spring,
But Life in Bondage, is a worthless Thing.

Printed for & Sold by R. Bell: Bookseller

TITLE-PAGE OF THE "FARMERS' LETTERS."

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

Townshend had, he said, met the colonies on their own ground. They had resisted internal taxation, but had recognized the right of Parliament to pass acts regulating trade. Personally, he knew no difference between external and internal taxation; but since the colonies made a difference, he would conform to their views. The failure of the ministry to continue the four-shilling land tax made an increase of revenue from other sources imperative; and Townshend's shallow logic led him to believe that he might relieve the country squires, establish the supremacy of Parliament, and secure a revenue by these enactments. Townshend died in 1767, before the completeness of the failure of his plans could be known. The burden of enforcement fell upon other and perhaps less willing agents.

1767

Townshend's sharp dodge

His death

The colonies had no lack of grounds for argument. The new acts were primarily for revenue; they were to be enforced by an extra-colonial board of commissioners; the proceeds were to be used to exempt colonial officials from their just and proper dependence on the people; and most serious of all grievances, this same revenue was to be applied to support an army to enforce collection. That the purpose of the acts was to provide a revenue rather than regulate trade was plainly expressed in the preamble. All the articles taxed were in common use, and none of them were produced to any extent in the colonies. To submit to these laws was to acknowledge the justice of English claims in the dispute. John Dickinson of

Objection of colonies to new taxes

Pennsylvania, in the "Farmer's Letters," presented the clearest statement of the case. Speaking of the act which suspended the New York Assembly, he said: "If the British Parliament has a legal authority to issue an order that we shall furnish a single article for the troops here, and to compel obedience to that order, they have the right to lay any burdens they please upon us. What is this but taxing us at a certain sum and leaving to us only the manner of raising it? How is this made more tolerable than the Stamp Act?" There was no difference, he argued, between internal and external taxation. The real difference was between taxation and trade regulation. The former produced a revenue, the latter prevented one part of the empire from encroaching upon another. "If Great Britain can order us to come to her for necessaries we want," said Dickinson, referring to the Townshend Acts, "and can order us to pay what taxes she pleases before we take them away or when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as France and Poland can show in wooden shoes and with uncombed hair."

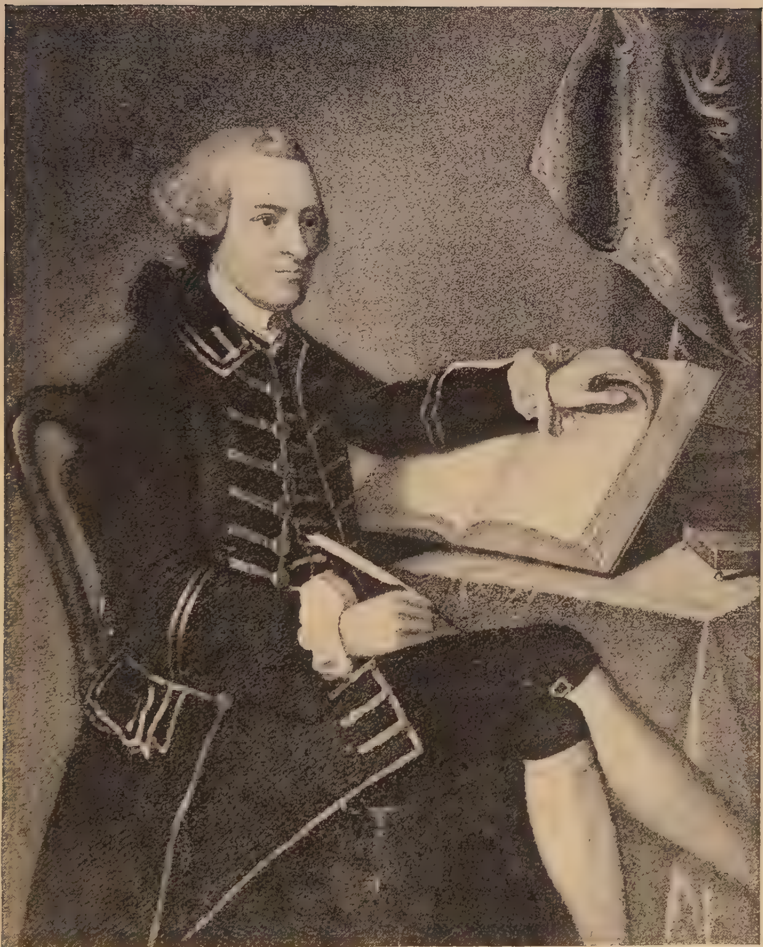
1767

Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters"

Colonies will not have taxation of any sort

There was no danger of abject slavery in the colonies, however; for men had the instinct which divined oppression, and were ever ready to resort first to the ways of peace and then to force to repel it. The colonial newspapers were filled with articles disseminating the new doctrine. Franklin, then in England, openly approved the views of Dickinson and Otis. Bernard, of whom Shelburne said that he preferred a good argument to

Colonial agitation



JOHN HANCOCK.

a wise measure, refused to summon the Assembly of Massachusetts; but the acts were considered in public meetings, and resolutions discouraging importation and favoring industry, economy, and home manufactures were adopted. The movement spread throughout the provinces; and presently Philadelphia, New York, and other leading towns joined in the agreement not to import articles of British manufacture.

1767–8

Non-importation movement

When the Assembly of Massachusetts met regularly, the leadership in resisting the new acts was taken by Otis, Hancock, Cushing, Adams, and Hawley. The appointment of Otis as Speaker had been vetoed by the Governor; but Cushing, whose family connections gave him great influence, was chosen in his place. Samuel Adams, who had risen from small things to a high position in the esteem of the people, was the favorite. He was now clerk of the House, wholly devoted to politics, and to the idea of ultimate independence which he labored incessantly to bring about. Of the old Puritan type, he was poor but incorruptible. In times of peace he had made many failures, but now he had found his career. John Hancock was one of the wealthy young men of the colony. Under the guidance of Adams, and spurred on by his ambition, he was able to exert an influence in quarters where Adams' appeals would have passed unnoticed. Joseph Hawley of Northampton was the most outspoken representative of the country members.

Massachusetts leaders

As soon as they met, letters were sent to the colony's agent in London, defining and explaining

1768

Massachusetts to agent and King

their position. They denied that they had notions of political independence, but insisted that the colony could care for its affairs in the future as it had in the past. A standing army could not enforce dependence, while the payment of colonial salaries from the English treasury would be most certainly followed by absolute government. A petition to the King and a letter to the ministers were sent, but no communication was made to either house of Parliament. The most important work of the Assembly was the drafting of a circular letter to the several colonies, urging the necessity of co-operation in resistance, and informing them of the action taken by Massachusetts. In this letter they explained their view that Parliament, while the supreme legislative body of the empire, was nevertheless subject to the Constitution; that by this Constitution the colonies enjoyed certain rights, chief of which was that of giving or withholding money; that the acts imposing duties for revenue were an exercise of power not granted by the Constitution; that the colonies could not be represented in Parliament. Finally, Massachusetts disclaimed any purpose to lead or dictate, but asked advice from other Assemblies.

Circular to other colonies

Hillsborough tries to prevent their action on it

The letter reached England in April (1768); and Hillsborough, then colonial secretary, wrote to the royal governors commanding them to use their "utmost influence" to prevent other colonial Assemblies from acting upon the Massachusetts letter. At the same time, a letter to Bernard directed him to require the Assembly to rescind the letter on penalty of dissolution if they refused. When Hillsborough's letter reached the colony late in June, the Assembly adopted a letter in reply defending its action, and by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen refused to rescind the circular letter. The following day, July 1, Bernard dissolved it; but dissolution did not impair courage. The "ninety-two" became a popular toast, while the seventeen "rescinders" were derided and roundly cursed. Nor had the orders of Hillsborough been more effective from the English standpoint in the case of other colonies. Virginia, Georgia, Connecticut, and New Jersey responded quickly and favorably to the sentiment of Massachusetts, even before the demands of Hillsborough were made. Maryland thanked Massachusetts for her letter, and coincided with her in opinion. New York and South Carolina promised their support.

1768

Massachusetts refuses to rescind circular

Other colonies join her

In June new fuel was added to the flame. The *Liberty,* a sloop owned by John Hancock, arrived with a cargo of Madeira wine. As was the usual custom, a few pipes were entered as the whole cargo, to pay duty on. The vessel was seized by the customs officials, and instead of being left at her wharf was towed under the guns of the *Romney,* a fifty-gun ship which had been sent from Halifax a month before. The captain of the *Romney* was already hated by the people because of his illegal attempts at impressment. At night a mob collected, threw stones and dirt at the customs officers, but apparently without injuring them, and burned one of the collector's boats on the common. The

Seizure of Hancock's sloop

1768

Customs commissioners mobbed

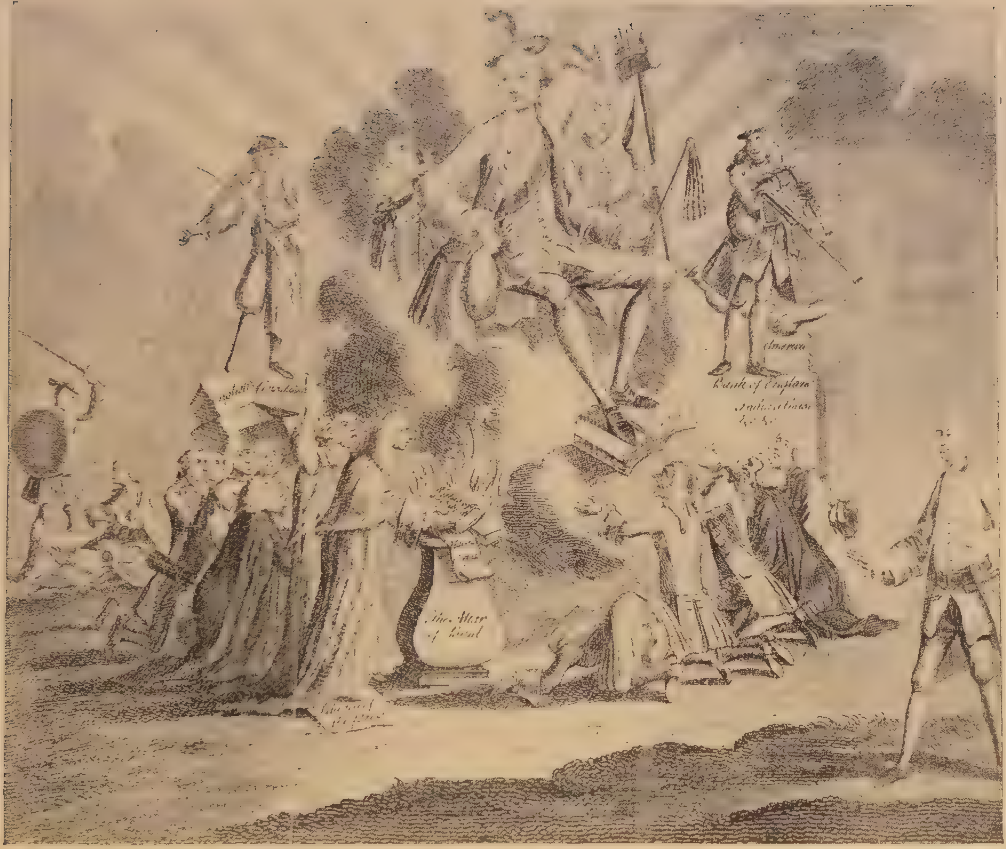
commissioners of customs, in probably genuine fear for their lives, withdrew to the *Romney.* The time of striking to kill had not yet come; but in the electric temper of a rough populace, no one could tell when.

Bernard calls in troops to his aid

A committee of the town waited on the governor, demanding the *Romney's* removal from the harbor and an end of impressment. The Governor professed to the people a serious desire for conciliation, while he was writing to the ministry for troops to enable him to enforce the King's government and laws. General Gage sent an officer from New York to arrange for quarters for the expected forces. Bernard refused to summon the Assembly, whereupon a general convention of delegates was called, which met in Boston September 22. A hundred towns were represented, and the delegates prepared a petition to the King and a letter to their agent in London, disclaiming any desire to rebel against the government.

Quarrel over quarters

The troops from Halifax, a thousand strong, arrived soon after. By the terms of the Quartering Act, the barracks were to be filled first; but Bernard declared that these were reserved for two regiments from Ireland, and insisted upon the troops then present being quartered in the town. There were no quarters to be had as prescribed by law, and the colonists were well enough versed in the laws to know just how far they could insist upon their rights. Faneuil Hall was given up temporarily, and a few soldiers were quartered in the State House. Gage came to Boston in person,



THE NORTH STAR, 1768.

but with no other result than finding quarters and paying for supplies out of his own military chest. 1768

American "traitors" to be tried abroad

In the mean time a new Parliament had met in England, and among their first acts were severe censures of the colony of Massachusetts. Moreover, they revived an old statute of Henry VIII. for the punishment of treason committed outside the realm, and under it proposed to arrest and transport for trial the leaders of the Massachusetts patriots, though the colonies were not outside the realm. This attempt was severely condemned in England, but scorned here, where its execution was known to be practically impossible; none the less, it increased popular rancor. The Assembly retorted with resolutions of defiance.

North Carolina Regulators

Meanwhile in North Carolina the back-country populace had risen against the exactions not of British but of their own officials, representing mainly the wealthier classes of the coast, who as in all ages had cunningly shifted their share of public burdens on the poorer. The latter formed a band of "regulators" to enforce their rights; the poor devils were put down with a mighty slaughter and confiscation by Governor Tryon, much lauded therefor by their oppressors, who soon after tied his hands and headed the resistance to British oppression. Many of the regulators escaped across the mountains, where they became part of the founders of Tennessee.

In Virginia the Assembly was preparing resolutions condemning the late acts of Parliament; but the Governor, Botetourt, dissolved that body

1768–70

Virginia and its governor

before they could be adopted. The Assembly adjourned to a near-by tavern, where under their presiding officer, Peyton Randolph, they completed their work and joined the other colonists in the non-importation agreement.

Parliament promises to abandon revenue acts

By the close of 1769 party lines were beginning to be clearly drawn. Influence amounting to intimidation was brought to bear upon the Tories, to force them into compliance with the popular will. The failure of the attempt to raise a revenue by taxation of the colonies was equally apparent in England. The proceeds for the first year of the operation of the act were £295, with extraordinary military expenses of £120,000. It was decided to remit all the duties except that on tea; and Lord Hillsborough informed the colonists that the ministry "entertained no design to propose to Parliament to lay any further taxes on America for the purpose of raising a revenue." In August of 1769 Bernard, who had been rewarded by a baronetcy, was called to England, greatly to the joy of Massachusetts, where his determined and persistent complaints had been made known. Somewhat later Hutchinson succeeded to his post as governor.

Luckless British garrison

Of all the parties to the struggle, the position of the British troops in New York and Boston was the most unfortunate: they were there to enforce laws which were not broken, to support a government not resisted beyond the limits of legality. They were exposed to the contempt and insult of the populace, a treatment which they dared not resent. They stood as silent spectators while the

1768-70

Positions of the magistrates

New York vs. Massachusetts

Sons of Liberty celebrated the Stamp Act riots, while informers were tarred and feathered, while mobs forced shopkeepers to give up English goods. They could not act except upon the request of the civil authorities: and even the militant and fervidly loyal Colden (acting governor of New York in 1770), taught by his experience of the Stamp Act, and realizing the responsibility of the first blow, shrank from provoking an outbreak; while Hutchinson, naturally cautious and desirous of peace, full besides of the sincerest patriotism and affection for his native province, knew too well the fierce and stubborn temper of its people, and the sagacious leadership that was welding them into an army not to yield without streams of blood. Yet if the garrisons remained, a collision on some pretext was as sure as the motions of the planets. It is characteristic of the respective situations in the two provinces, that in New York the electric spark was provoked by the soldiers, in Massachusetts by the citizens; and that while the first blood shed in resisting British control was in the former, it passed for a commonplace riot, roused no community action, and attracted little attention then or since, while in the latter a few weeks later it was the tocsin of a revolution.

On the 16th of January, 1770, the New York soldiery incensed the Sons of Liberty by chopping down a liberty-pole they had set up. Two days later a couple of the soldiers were caught posting up offensive handbills against the patriots, and taken before the mayor for punishment. Twenty 1770 of their comrades set out to rescue them, and demanded their release; a crowd of citizens picked up stones, snatched the stakes from the carts, hay-wagons, and sledges come to market around, and prepared for a contest. The mayor ordered the soldiers back to their barracks; they went, but pursued with jeers and perhaps missiles by the populace. At Golden Hill, between the present Fulton Street and Maiden Lane, they met a fresh body of their fellows and turned to bay; and in the free fight which ensued, an old sailor was fatally thrust through the body with a bayonet, while the populace rained blows with clubs on the soldiery. The mayor, hearing of the fray, came to the scene and ordered the soldiers to disperse; they refused, but a group of Sons of Liberty, playing ball near by, assailed them so fiercely that, not daring to perpetrate a general massacre, they scattered. In the afternoon, however, they again attacked a citizen body; and these fracases continued for two days longer, several citizens being badly wounded.

"Battle of Golden Hill"

In Boston the state of affairs was even less favorable to the soldiers, and the consummation worse. The boys hooted them, called them "lobsters" (from their red uniforms), and pelted them with sticks and stones; they hardly dared stir from their quarters after nightfall. Thus for months both sides were on the verge of an outbreak. At last on the 3d of March, 1770, there was a fight between one of the soldiers and a negro employed

Boston garrison harried by boys and loafers

at Gray's rope-walk; the soldier was badly beaten, but returned soon after with a number of his companions; and a free fight followed, in which the workmen from the ship-yards joined. Again the soldiers were worsted and compelled to retire to their quarters. On Monday evening of the 5th of March, after a day of disorder, in which we cannot adjudge the shares of aggression, a mob of men and boys amused themselves by surrounding and annoying one of the sentinels. His call for help was answered by Captain Preston and six soldiers; but the people refused to disperse, and soon began pelting the little squad with snowballs mingled with ice-balls and stones, striking their guns with sticks and daring them to fire. The mob rushed forward, when one of the soldiers, possibly through fear, perhaps in anger, fired the first shot. This was followed by a volley from the entire squad, killing five of the people and wounding several others.

1770

Boston garrison and citizenry

"Boston Massacre," March 5

At once the city was ablaze with excitement. The town drums and bells in the churches called out the citizens, who refused to return until the soldiers who had fired the volley were imprisoned. The next morning the inhabitants met and entreated Hutchinson to order the removal of the troops. A town meeting appointed a committee to wait on the Governor, but without success. Meanwhile the people had been gathering from the country, and the meeting was adjourned to the Old South Church, whence a final message was sent to the Governor, threatening him with the vengeance

Town up in arms

of the three thousand then assembled if the troops were not removed. After a long deliberation, Hutchinson listened to the advice of the Council, and both regiments were removed to the island barracks of Castle William. The troops sent to Boston to preserve order were prisoners of the men of Massachusetts. "That was the end of the spirited way we took," said Edmund Burke, "when the question was whether Great Britain should or should not govern America."

1770 et seq.

Troops removed to Castle William

In the following October, when popular passion had had opportunity to subside, the soldiers were tried. John Adams and Josiah Quincy risked their fortunes and the good-will of their countrymen in the high professional duty of acting as counsel for the defense. After a long and apparently a fair trial, all but two of the soldiers were acquitted, and these were only slightly punished. Looking back upon the scene, it appears remarkable that more serious disorders did not result. That the trial should have progressed so free from partisanship is the best proof of the wisdom and strength of the leaders into whose hands the management of the dispute had now fallen.

Trial of culprits

Result

Two attempts had now been made to impose the power of Parliament upon America. Both had failed, and it remained for the ministry of Lord North to try another plan; to test the efficacy of royal letters of instruction as a means of checking the free development of the colonies. These letters had been issued regularly upon the appointment of new governors, and at other times when

Letters of Instruction

necessary. The governors were compelled to use their best efforts for their enforcement, not only from personal reasons but for the honor of the Crown. They varied for the different colonies, and were the warrants for single acts rather than the enforcement of a general policy. The charter of Massachusetts provided that Castle William should be garrisoned by the militia, but a letter of instruction placed royal troops therein. Assemblies were dissolved or called to meet in unusual places, removed from the centres of population. Means of payment of local officers were provided, or they were exempted from colonial taxes.

1770 et seq.

Variant letters of instruction

This insidious and dangerous method of government met with determined opposition in the colonies, and acrid criticism at home. "The work of the Assemblies was seriously injured; the King had, by his mere will, created a clandestine, capricious, and destructive mode: the ministry had substituted discretion for law, and set the principles of the Constitution afloat upon the merciless and fluctuating sea of arbitrary will; to oppose it unsuccessfully would be misfortune only." These were some of the English comments upon this latest plan for controlling America.

English criticism of them

The chief strength of American resistance was believed to exist in the thorough enforcement of the non-importation agreement. Here, however, were evidences of weakness; for men of Tory proclivities, and Whigs who cared more for money than patriotic principles, were constantly breaking or evading the agreement. The merchants of New

American divergence on non-importation

1770 et seq.

NewYork breaks non-importation cordon

York were the first to revolt in a body, by proposing that the agreement be in force with respect to tea only. Consternation, anger, and sorrow were expressed in the replies of the other colonies. In Massachusetts the New York letter was torn to pieces publicly in town meeting; the students of Princeton College gathered in caps and gowns to burn it publicly; while Philadelphia and Charleston denounced New York as having undermined the union of the colonies. New Hampshire and Rhode Island offended also, and vessels from all these colonies were denied the privileges of trade with their neighbors.

Massachusetts officials to be paid by England

The design of the instructions was to separate the colonies, localize grievances, deal with individuals, and thereby weaken the resistance of the country. In Massachusetts, directions were sent that not only the governor, but judges and subordinate officers, should be paid from the British treasury. This greatly reduced the reputation, and indeed the necessity, of the Assembly. During the discussion which this measure aroused, a committee of twenty-one persons was appointed to "state the rights of the colonies and of this province in particular, to communicate the same to the several towns in this province and to the world," and to request of "each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject."

Leads to a committee of correspondence

Gaspée affair

In Rhode Island another outbreak gave a new impulse to colonial feeling. The armed force with which the Townshend Act had been paraded before the colonies, the employment of officers of the royal navy in the customs services, had led to many petty infringements of colonial rights and to no little ill-feeling. One of the chief offenders was Lieutenant Dudingston, commander of the *Gaspée,* stationed off the Rhode Island coast. The chief justice of Rhode Island held that any person exercising military authority within the colony without showing his commission to the governor was guilty of trespass. The matter was referred to the British admiral at Boston, who decided that Dudingston was simply doing his duty, and threatened to hang any of the colonists who should attempt to rescue captured vessels. Dudingston, thus encouraged, not only showed unusual zeal in the performance of his duty, but foraged on the inhabitants' farms, stopped market boats and made them contribute to his stores, and made illegal seizures of goods in amounts so small that recourse to the courts would cost more than the value of the goods; thus arousing the wrath of the people generally. Dudingston attempted to stop the Providence packet; but the vessel was too good a sailer, and being of light draught ran in near the shore, where the *Gaspée* attempted to follow, but ran aground a little below Pawtuxet. That night (June 9, 1772) six or seven boats attacked the stranded schooner, captured and landed the crew, after a fight in which Dudingston was wounded, and burned the vessel.

1772

Dudingston and the "Gaspée"

Its fate

There was no question but that this was high treason. The perpetrators of the act were notorious in Providence, one being in fact the leading merchant of the place; and a royal commission

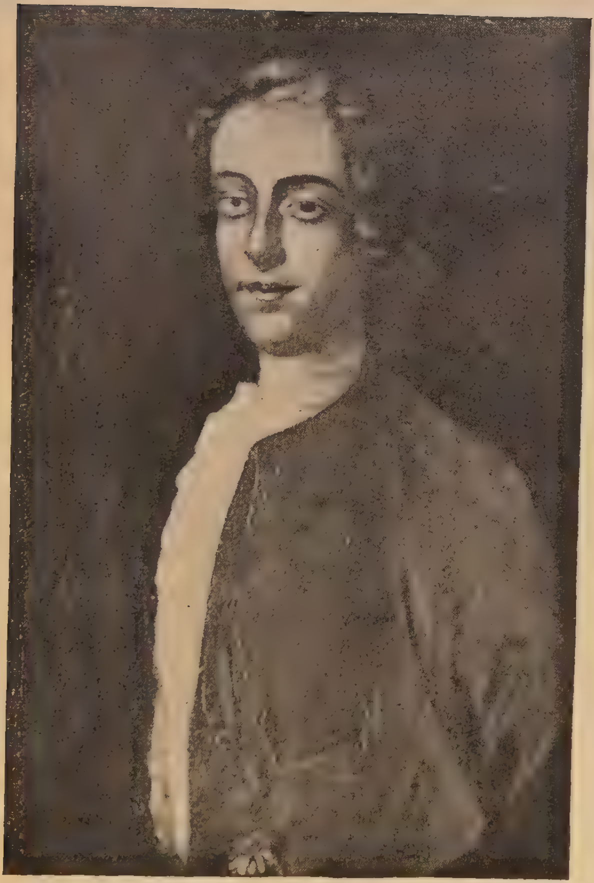
1772-3

"Gaspée" trial a fluke

was appointed to examine into the affair, arrest the guilty parties, and send them to England for trial, using if necessary any of the British forces in America to secure compliance. The instructions to the commission were compared to the Star Chamber decrees, by which the last and most important right of Englishmen, the right of trial by jury of the neighborhood, was destroyed. The Rhode Island Assembly was encouraged to apply to the other colonies for aid, but this was not needed. Its chief justice, Hopkins, announced that he would refuse to issue warrants for the arrest of any one to be tried outside the colony; no one could be found who knew anything officially about the affair, and the prosecution failed.

General Committee of Correspondence

The danger of Rhode Island had been the indirect cause of comment in Virginia, of much importance. On the 12th of March, 1773, Dabney Carr, a brilliant young lawyer, Jefferson's most intimate friend, presented a series of resolutions to the Assembly providing for a standing committee of correspondence to secure the earliest information of English acts or policies affecting the colonies; to examine the authority of the Rhode Island court of inquiry, and to transmit the resolutions to the Assemblies of the other colonies with the request that they appoint similar committees. By the 8th of July, five colonies had responded, and the machinery was in motion whereby, despite the efforts of royal governors, and without the help of Assemblies, the revolutionary movement could be kept alive.



THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

(From painting in the Massachusetts Historical Society.)

An incident which added to the personal bitterness of feeling in both England and America was the publication in Massachusetts of the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver. These were written to Whatley, Grenville's private secretary, and while upon public affairs, were never intended for publication. Private and personal letters were not respected even by the British government, but government condemnation in this case was unsparing. Whatley died, and most of his papers passed into the hands of his brother as executor. These letters apparently had been removed before Whatley's brother took possession of his papers. At any rate, they got into the hands of Franklin, who sent them to America, promising that they should not be published. When they reached Boston they were placed in the hands of the revolutionary leaders. John Adams took them with him upon the circuit, and finally Hutchinson was asked for copies for publication. His reply that the originals would be better for that purpose was taken to mean consent, and the contents of the letters were finally given to the public.

1773

Hutchinson and Oliver letters

Obtained by Franklin

Published

The use made of them by the leaders of the popular party was, to say the least, unfair: for months they had been made the basis of whispered criticism, of exaggerated statements, until the public came to believe them to be much more serious than they were in reality. Though written before Hutchinson was governor, and the open expression of his unofficial opinions, they were treated as the basest of treasons against the liberties of the

Unfairly denounced

colony. Treasonable they certainly were as far as one party was concerned. How far they were in accordance with Hutchinson's duty as an official, and his political opinions which he shared with other able and honest men, is a question that has been too little considered. A movement that could find no place in it for Thomas Hutchinson was no unmixed gain; and the warmest patriots may wish that a little of the energies devoted to blowing into a blaze an already hot fire had been transferred to conciliating and making terms of action with the high-minded conservatives.

1773

Hutchinson's right to free speech

Serious as the consequences were for Hutchinson, they were hardly less so for Franklin. The letters came into his hands as political news. He knew they would prove a most powerful weapon in the hands of the Boston patriots. He knew also that they had been written in confidence, but that even confidences were forcibly violated in politics by all parties. In England he was treated almost as a thief, and subjected to a speech full of insult when the Massachusetts petition for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver was before the committee of the Privy Council for discussion. He was dismissed from his office as postmaster-general, and his opportunities for usefulness in England were at an end. Great Britain had made sure that one of the most influential men in America should be henceforth against her.

Franklin hounded for taking the letters

One of the first measures of Lord North's ministry had been to repeal the taxes levied by the Townshend acts, with the exception of that upon tea. But as tea smuggled from Holland came cheaper to the colonies, England had practically no American tea trade; the East India Company in 1773 had 17,000,000 pounds accumulated unsalable in its London warehouses, and was believed to be in danger of a bankruptcy highly disastrous to English financial and even political interests. To help it out, its export drawback of three-fifths of the shilling of English customs duty was increased to the whole shilling, which would enable it to undersell the smuggled tea; and if successful, would aid in breaking up the entire illicit trade so long fought.

1773

East India Company's tax

Object of lowering tea duties

Exactly this last, and its yielding the principle of taxation, made the tea unacceptable to the colonists at any price. The ships which brought it to New York and Philadelphia were turned back before the cargoes were entered; in Charleston some of it was landed and stored, but at the end of twenty days was seized according to law by the customs officers for unpaid duties, and spoiled unused, as no one dared buy it. In all three places the consignees had been forced to resign; in Boston, where they were Hutchinson's two sons and three loyalist friends, they refused to do so. On November 26 a ship arrived there with a cargo of the tea, shortly followed by two others; and a tense struggle began. Hutchinson, as the law provided, refused to grant clearance papers till the cargoes were discharged; the British admiral stationed war vessels to prevent the ships leaving the harbor; the people set a watch on them to prevent

Colonial opposition to importation

Struggle in Boston

the tea from being landed. Town meetings were 1773 held in vain, threats were exhausted: Hutchinson would not send back the ships.

The twenty days would expire on midnight of the 16th, and the colony's victory be won as in Charleston, by seizure and rotting of the unbought tea; for the doomage law would hold on ship as well as on shore, and even the stubborn loyalists would not have dared to buy it from the customs officers, in face of the former experience of mob law. But that was not what the party headed by Adams wanted. Since it was evident that England was determined to enforce in some shape the issue of control over taxation and trade, which the prosperity of America made it needful to resist to the death, they wished to commit the colony to an open defiance of that control; and thus at once commit the remaining colonies also—which for their own sakes must rally to its support—and gain a momentum to crush out the Toryism in their own midst. On Hutchinson's final refusal, which had been discounted, a band of men dressed as Indians, collected in anticipation of it, boarded the vessels, and the harbor of Boston was soon "black with unexpected tea." The plan had been maturing for some days in the back-room of the printing-office of Edes & Gill, the meeting-place of the Boston "Caucus," which selected proper representatives for the Assembly and managed other political affairs. The work was done quickly and quietly; a few hundred people congregated on the wharf, occupied chiefly with preventing

Object of violence

Boston Tea Party

any interference with the work of their friends, though a hundred or so joined in the work of smashing the chests and throwing the tea into the water. The entire 342 chests on the three ships, valued at £18,000, were destroyed; and without having uttered even a cheer, the mob dispersed.

1773-4

Boston Tea Party

The Boston "Tea Party" is especially instructive as an evidence of the power and objects of the revolutionary party. They wished not merely to prevent the landing of the tea, but to prevent it by force: the means were as important as the end. The more radical citizens took in their own hands the power of government, deliberately overthrowing all legal authority. Then, too, since the days of the "massacre" the leaders had learned a lesson as to popular management. Enough men were chosen to do the work effectively, and no more. There was no mob violence. The revolutionary movement in Boston was fully under control.

Objects and results

When the news of the destruction of the tea reached England, all parties agreed that it was necessary to punish the disobedient colony. The constitution had been subverted, rebellion had begun, and independence would soon follow unless Boston were subdued. She must be made to feel the full enormity of her offense. It was not thought that the other colonies would support Boston in such flagrant and open violation of the laws. The spirit of Boston, also, was misjudged by one in a position to know better. "They will be lions

English wrath

if we are lambs," General Gage wrote; "but if we take the resolute part they will be very meek!" It was a great mistake to assume that Boston would be unsupported, but the ministers proceeded to act upon that theory. March 14, 1774, Lord North proposed the Boston Port Bill, which on the 31st became a law, it is said by the unanimous vote of both houses. The port of Boston was closed to commerce until the East India Company was paid for the tea destroyed, and satisfaction was made for other goods seized. Salem and Marblehead were made sole ports of entry, and trade designed to supply the town of Boston with provisions was forbidden, unless entry was first made at those ports and customs officers taken on board the vessels for Boston.

1774

Boston Port Bill

In May an act of Parliament changed the government of Massachusetts. The old dispute concerning the choice of members of the Council was to be prevented in the future by Crown appointments; the governor was empowered to nominate and appoint judges of the inferior courts and other subordinate officers, and to remove them from office without the consent of the Council, though an exception was made of commissions dated prior to June 1, 1774. Town meetings, for anything but annual elections, were forbidden save by written permission from the governor, obtained after a full explanation of the purposes of the meeting; the jurors were not to be elected as formerly, but were to be summoned by the sheriffs from lists submitted to the justices of the peace by the constables

Massachusetts government revolutionized

of the various towns. Meanwhile Hutchinson was called to England, and General Gage appointed governor of the province, with authority to remove the seat of government to Salem. Gage reached Boston in May of 1774, and was received with all possible respect and honor by the people of the city and the province. The Assembly met in Boston May 25, but was adjourned two days later by the Governor, to meet early in June at Salem.

1774

Gage governor of Massachusetts

The recent acts of Parliament had strengthened the call for another meeting of the colonies. When the Assembly met in Salem, Samuel Adams submitted a series of resolutions calling a congress of representatives from the colonies, to meet in Philadelphia the first day of September, and providing for five members from Massachusetts, who were to be paid by a tax of £500 levied on the towns. The Assembly expected interference, and hence sat with closed doors. While the meeting was in progress, the secretary of the province brought a message from the Governor dissolving the Assembly. Denied admission, the secretary read the official message on the stairway, while within the delegates completed their work and ordered an account of it sent to the other colonies. In this action they were responding to the calls made by the town of Providence, the committees of Philadelphia and New York, and the burgesses of Virginia. Boston was encouraged to maintain the firm stand she had taken. Sympathy and advice were received from all the colonies. Each successive British aggression served to perfect and

Its Assembly calls a Congress

General sympathy

strengthen the organization of colonial resistance. 1774 Committees of correspondence were beginning to do more than collect and disseminate news. They formed slowly, with the existing local machinery of government, a combination which would be able to control political action in each colony when the moment of final separation came.

Lords protest against revolutionizing Massachusetts

The act which changed the government of Massachusetts aroused much opposition in England. The House of Lords protested, on the ground that no definite legal offense had been shown which would involve a forfeiture of the charter; that the colony had not been heard in its own defense; that it had not been shown that any real necessity existed for such precipitate action; that no evidence had been submitted to the House; and that the proposed bill made the governors and councillors masters of the Assembly and destroyed its freedom. Again, the bill was not in accordance with the administration of justice in Great Britain. The governor and Council were given powers which in Great Britain were not trusted to the King and Privy Council: the laws, liberties, and properties of subjects were placed in their hands without control, and the invaluable right of trial by jury was made a snare for the people, while the authority of the officers and ministers of state was strengthened at the expense of the liberties of the subject. So the friends of America in the House of Lords reasoned; and in the colonies it was said that to submit to this violation of the charter of one colony would be for all of them to

Thos Gage

give up every principle for which they had hitherto contended.

1774

Gage to overawe Boston

The instructions of General Gage reached him in August. Seven regiments and nearly thirty ships of war were at hand to support him, and preparations were made to enforce the Regulation Act. It was evident that with all its fancied power, Parliament could not enforce a government to which all the people were opposed. In some parts of the colony the courts were prevented from sitting. In Boston the jurors refused to be sworn; the *mandamus* councillors and others who had accepted office were socially ostracised by their old friends and associates, and many of them resigned rather than break the old ties which bound them to their homes; town meetings which were forbidden by the act were held almost everywhere in the province, and the committees of correspondence renewed their activity.

First Continental Congress

It was in the midst of this universal sympathy for Massachusetts that the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, the 5th of September, 1774. Twelve colonies were represented by fifty-five delegates, for the most part men of talent and experience. From New England came John and Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman and Thomas Cushing. The middle colonies sent the Livingstons and Jay, John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway, representing the two poles of popular feeling, Cæsar Rodney and McKean; the South sent Gadsden, the Rutledges, Samuel Chase, and the illustrious Virginia group Bland, Pendleton, Peyton

Randolph (chosen president), Patrick Henry, and George Washington.

1774

The object was to secure a redress of grievances and removal of causes of irritation. The Congress sat with closed doors; each colony had one vote. Committees were appointed to state the rights of the colonies, and to report upon restrictive acts of Parliament. Joseph Galloway introduced a plan of union, somewhat like Franklin's of 1754: a general governor appointed by the Crown; a Council with three members from each colony, elected by the Assemblies,—its acts subject to revision by Parliament, but it in turn having the right to veto Parliament's colonial acts; the colonies controlling their own local affairs. The scheme broke upon the old objections to the Albany plan, strengthened by the ominous reports from Boston; it was not only dropped, but all reference to it was stricken from the journals. It was best not even to admit a possible overshadowing Crown government.

Continental Congress

Galloway's plan

Stifled

Meanwhile Gage had been fortifying the approaches to Boston, and heavy reinforcements were known to be on the way to him: the royal governor of Massachusetts was openly at the head of a foreign army to force upon it an unrepresentative government. Congress, in return, agreed that all the colonies should use force to support it in resistance. On the 14th of October Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights, enumerating the colonies' inalienable privileges, and specifying eleven acts of Parliament which had caused the rupture with Great Britain.

Drifting toward a fight

The delegates further entered into an American Association not to import or consume British goods, or send exports to England; to stop the slave trade; and to cease intercourse with any colony which refused to enter the Association, or, having entered, violated its law. Committees were to enforce its rules by publishing the names of those who sold or used British goods, and making a regular inspection of custom-house records. All but two of the colonies approved the Association: New York from its large commercial interest, and Georgia from its weakness, disfavored it. Congress also agreed upon an address to the people of Great Britain and the inhabitants of British America, and drafted a petition to the King.

1774–5

Non-intercourse Association

Before adjournment, another Congress was appointed to meet in Philadelphia the following May, when England's attitude toward the declarations of the first would be known. The petition to the King was placed before Parliament in January 1775; but meanwhile the colonial governors had been ordered to prevent the election of deputies to the second Congress. This session of Parliament was marked by Chatham's proposal to remove the troops from Boston, and by Burke's famous speech on conciliation; but neither had any possibility of success. The King and a majority of the nation were determined to strike down once for all the colonial liberties that enabled defiance of English commands.

Congress of 1775 called

Parliament's resolve as to America

But we shall not understand why even honest and high-minded Englishmen could favor measures

Axioms of English colonial policy

like these, unless we bear in mind one all-important fact. Both political parties, Tory and Whig, and all classes, were at one with all foreigners in belief that the loss of the colonies would mean the ruin of England. The English felt that they were engaged in a struggle for commercial, if not national existence. The difference was as to methods. The majority believed the colonies could only be retained by force, and that any measures were justified by the law of self-preservation. The opposition believed that the calamity could be averted more certainly by justice than arms; that the colonies were or would soon become too strong to be coerced, and if denied concessions now, would force more humiliating ones or full independence later; and that the foreign alliances they would be driven to seek would take their commerce away from England.

Tory theory

Whig theory

How the plan of coercion fared we have now to see.

PART VII.

The Revolution.

2418

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LEXINGTON AND BUNKER HILL

1774

The British occupation of Boston by Gage's army in 1774, to bind the new governmental yoke firmly on Massachusetts' rebellious neck, meant certain war with New England; and if the universal rally to the side of Boston after the Port Bill signified anything, with the other colonies as well. Pride and apparently vital interests forbade either side to yield except to the arbitrament of force. Satisfaction by Massachusetts for the past, submission to a curb guaranteeing different behavior for the future, would free its capital from martial law and part of the troops, though never again from an effective garrison; but by giving either it would belie every popular action and utterance since the Stamp Act, betray its associates of whom the same was true, and have its protests or threats thenceforward treated as idle breath. Retreat was effacement and ignominy in one.

The bridges burnt

The British government welcomed the issue. It was an article of faith there that colonial courage, equipment, and organization were equal only to riots, not real war. The conquest of New France was credited solely to the King's regulars: the British commanders in that contest took good care,

British contempt for colonies

1774-5

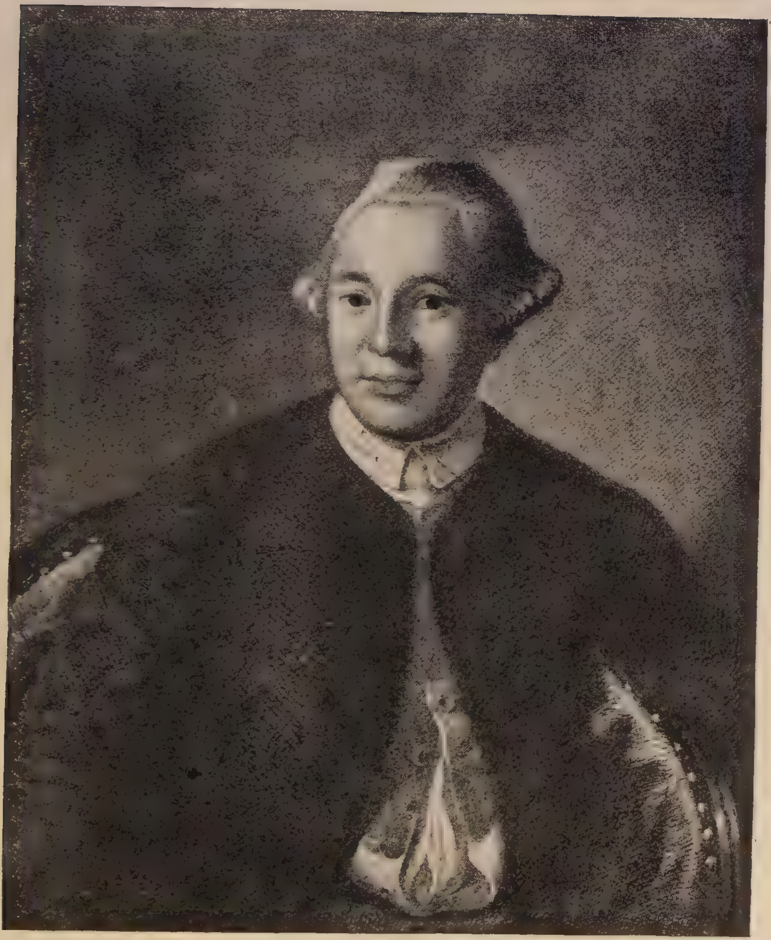
for their own repute, promotions, and perquisites, that it should be so. Furthermore, the English expectation was to make any conflict an instant fiasco—a mere local insurrection, an isolated uprising easily crushed—by preventing the colonists from collecting military supplies sufficient for any considerable body of troops. Small stocks of ammunition and food could rarely be ferreted out, or if so, be seized as openly against the King's peace. But guerrilla warfare was impossible in New England, and any important magazines would be at once notorious and seditious: they could be formed only by official public action which would be treasonable. Until they existed, rebellion would be futile; as soon as they existed, they must be appropriated or destroyed, ending the war at once by destroying a few stores and dispersing a few militia squads. In this way, too, it would not spread beyond New England, the fountain-head.

English plan for aborting insurrection

This was the idea of Lord Dartmouth, colonial secretary 1772-5: a mild weak honest man, who wished well to the colonies. Gage, however, was facing the aroused Yankees, and startled temporarily out of his "lion and lamb" and "four regiments enough" contempt; and told Dartmouth his plan was impracticable without troops enough to master the country, which in November he fixed at a minimum of 20,000. He ultimately received about half that.

Gage's estimate of troops needed

Sending the Massachusetts leaders to England for trial (Gage during the winter of 1774-5 was



JOSEPH WARREN.

ordered to seize and deport John Hancock and Samuel Adams), with a promise of pardon to the rest, was to complete the pacification; it being the government's innocent theory, as of all governments so placed, that the masses would never have thought of disobedience but for certain given demagogues, and would never think of it again if the latter's mouths were stopped. Also as usual, it believed with more truth that there was a large cowed loyal element which military protection would hearten, but grossly overrated its combativeness, if not its magnitude.[1] There was apparent excuse: General Timothy Ruggles, the chief loyalist leader, worked actively to form loyalist counter-associations, pledged to resist to the death all illegal bodies like committees and congresses; but his own group at Marshfield only escaped vengeance by a permanent British guard of 100 men.

Adams and Hancock to be seized

And loyalists to be supported

On the 1st of September Gage had issued writs for a General Court to meet at Salem October 5; on the 28th he grew frightened and dissolved it in advance. The elected members organized themselves into a Provincial Congress, the noble and idolized physician Joseph Warren president, which on October 26 passed an act organizing the militia: one fourth to be ready to respond at once to any urgent summons, hence popularly named

Massachusetts organizes for war

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[1] It had numbers enough, but not great militance. Their cruel dilemma was, that even if right they must aid in killing their fellow-citizens, while the patriots even if wrong had only to help kill foreigners. Some rose (or fell) to this level of sacrifice; but it drove many into the patriot ranks, mostly took the nerve out of the rest, made them nearly useless for British help, and enabled the patriots to trample on and eject them.

1774-5

"minute-men." Thereafter Artemas Ward and Seth Pomeroy, veteran officers of the past colonial wars, were made generals; two all-powerful executive committees, of safety and of supplies, were created; munitions of war were ordered collected, and stored at Concord eighteen miles northwest of Boston by the old county road, and Worcester fifty-four miles west, then as now the chief market centre between Boston and the Connecticut.

Magazines

Gage declared this action treasonable, which troubled the Congress far less than the practical difficulty of finding supplies. Gunsmiths were few and forges small, powder-mills did not exist, and war-stuff could no longer be obtained from British sources save scantily and by illicit means at great risk. This lack cruelly hampered the Americans throughout the war. But a stock of flour, wooden trenchers and spoons, some ammunition, and a few cannon, were painfully got together all through the winter and spring.

American lack of munitions

The Assembly or Congress dissolved December 10. Meantime Gage's reinforcements kept pouring in; a conclusive advertisement of British intentions. Forces from New York, New Jersey, and Quebec were transferred to Boston; and by January there were 3500, brigaded under Generals Earl Percy (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), Robert Pigot, and Valentine Jones. In return, the minute-men were drilled openly in "alarm-list companies" of the best citizens, paid and banqueted by the towns; in Danvers the

Gage's army

deacon of the church was captain and the minister lieutenant.

1775

The first attempt at capturing the patriot stores was a raid on a few brass cannon at Salem. On Sunday, February 26, 1775, Colonel Leslie sailed with 150 men to Marblehead, and marched overland to surprise them while the people were at church. But the alarm had been sent ahead; Salem minute-men faced him, others were hurrying to the spot; he had not forces nor orders for battle with the aroused countryside, and withdrew, postponing the irrevocable blow seven weeks to another spot.

First raid on American stores

Parliament, now in session, told the King with some plausibility that Massachusetts was in rebellion; the King replied that it should be promptly suppressed. Members vied in noisy contempt for the task, without thinking or caring that it might be impolitic. Five regiments would march through the colonies from end to end; their militia mobs would blench at the very look of a red-coat—this after Louisbourg and Duquesne! Yet more than five *additional* regiments were announced early in April as on their way over; and some of the most noted generals in the service—William Howe, Henry Clinton, and John Burgoyne—were to aid in putting down these cowardly rioters. In fact, Burgoyne on arriving complained that there were so many generals and brigadiers there was nothing for him to do: he found quite enough left.

England contemptuous in words

Anxious in acts

North, however,—who personally thought the militant policy neither just nor politic, but saw

1775

North's conciliation proposal

no object in refusing to lead the country wherever it wished to go,—made one more effort to prevent the war by isolating the seat of rebellion. He introduced a "conciliatory proposal," that any colony which would officially agree to support its government and courts should have no royal taxes levied on it while it did so, "except for the regulation of commerce." Chatham had made much the same proposal, but first to withdraw the troops as a warrant of good faith; and the House of Lords in violation of Parliamentary courtesy would not even lay it on the table, but voted it down two to one on the first reading. The same element denounced this as yielding the whole point in dispute: North coolly replied that he had no idea all the colonies would accept it, but it would divide them—and it was passed. It was in fact meant as a bait to New York, where the loyalists had promised to censure Massachusetts if England would make concessions. But when the colonies nearly all refused to act on it except in common, upon the express ground that it was only meant to divide them, the ministry were outraged and indignant beyond measure, and declared it a proof that the colonial grievances were a mere pretext, and their professed desire for reconciliation utterly insincere.

Its bad faith

Massachusetts' war preparations

Meantime in Massachusetts the new Provincial Congress, which had met February 9, took measures to raise an army and to raise, pay, and keep drilled six artillery companies; asked aid of the other colonies; advised the removal of all citizens

LORD NORTH.

from Boston; and after appointing a day of fasting and prayer, adjourned April 15 to May 10,—altogether ignoring the "conciliatory proposal" which arrived the day before. The two executive committees went on preparing for imminent war,—making and distributing ammunition, collecting and safeguarding a train of artillery.

1775

Already for a month Gage had been preparing to abort the insurrection by sacking its stores at Concord, with an irresistible force. Officers in disguise were sent to sketch the country and roads and ascertain conditions; they were detected and watched by countless patriot eyes. The Committee of Safety placed a guard with a night watch over the stores, and arranged for teams to scatter them through the back country at the first British movement, and for couriers to spread the alarm. Gage tried to throw the patriots off their guard, and awe them with his military strength, by expeditions that marched nowhere around the vicinity of Boston, doing useless damage. But they knew as well as himself what the objective of *any* large expedition must be: their only question was as to the exact time. He hoped to keep the preparations secret; but over thirty citizens formed a club to watch and report every movement of the British or loyalists, and patrolled the streets in small groups day and night—foremost among them Paul Revere, goldsmith, engraver, and influential politician.

Gage to sack Concord magazine

His ruse

Patriots foil it

Adams and Hancock, after the Provincial Congress adjourned April 15, stopped awhile in

1775

Lexington, ten to eleven miles out on the road to Concord; and Gage saw his chance to kill two birds with one stone. The same day he had the grenadiers and light infantry relieved from duty "to learn a new exercise," and the newly repaired boats of the transports launched and moored to the men-of-war. The patrol apprised Warren, who was in the city; he sent word by Revere to the proscribed leaders, and to the Committee of Safety, who ordered the cannon hidden in the woods and the stores removed to back towns. Revere on returning arranged in Charlestown that since messengers might not be permitted to leave Boston when the expedition actually started, lighted lanterns, "one if by land and two if by sea,"[1] should be hung in the North Church steeple which was visible from Charlestown. As was feared, Gage on the 18th placed guards of mounted officers on all the roads; one party was met by committee-men, who scented mischief and at once notified Hancock and Adams. Gage on this very day had issued writs for a new Assembly; and doubtless thought, like Charles I. in seizing the five members, that cutting off the opposition leaders would make the body

Gage's preparations noted

Revere's signal plan

Cutting down the tall ears

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[1] So he says himself. It is rather the fashion with late scholars to ignore this and call the signal "a lantern," because his friend Devens, writing nearer the time, speaks only of "a lanthorn." But it is not rational to discredit on such slight ground the very precise statement of Revere, who had no earthly motive for inventing this nice detail. Devens probably wrote in a general way, the fact that there was a signal being the only important point in his mind; or he may not have taken special note of or even looked at the signal himself, for the same reason; or may not have been told of the exact scheme, which Revere says was arranged with "Colonel Conant and others."

more manageable. Minute-men now stood guard over them.

1775
April
18–19

Some time after dark the Boston patrol saw that the troops were moving toward the Back Bay; also a patriot lady was given a message for her servant-woman, wife of a British grenadier, to have her husband report for duty at eight o'clock, equipped, at the foot (sea-edge) of the Common. Warren was informed: he sent William Dawes to ride by way of Roxbury to Lexington, and about ten asked Revere to do the same by way of Charlestown, in fear that Dawes might be intercepted. Revere directed a friend to hang out the lanterns; had himself rowed to Charlestown, obtained a horse, and about eleven set out on the world-famous "midnight ride," immortalized with some poetic inaccuracies by Longfellow. He outrode the British guards, alarmed nearly every house on the way, awoke the imperiled chiefs, and, soon joined by Dawes and Dr. Samuel Prescott, went on to alarm Concord. Shortly met by another British patrol, Prescott escaped and gave the alarm; Revere was captured, tricked his captors into seeking safety in flight, but had to turn back.

How Warren was warned

Paul Revere's midnight ride

Meantime the expedition, 800 strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Smith with Major John Pitcairn of the Royal Marines second, had rowed across the Charles estuary to Phipps' farm, now Lechmere Point, East Cambridge; marched rapidly and silently through the marsh by-paths, and about half-past two gained Menotomy (now Arlington) and the high-road to Lexington and

British expedition starts

1775 April 19

Lexington: Pitcairn's swift advance

Minute-men at the Green

Neither side to fire first

Concord. There they tried to catch the "rebel Congress," whose three members in the tavern escaped to the woods much undressed. But guns were booming and bells clanging and signal-fires flashing the alarm: Smith saw that the surprise was a failure, sent to Boston at once for reinforcements, and hurried Pitcairn forward with six companies of light infantry to secure the Concord bridges. The detachment moved with such quiet celerity as to capture every person on the road up to a mile and a half from Lexington; there a patriot saw and eluded them, galloped ahead, and about half-past four announced their coming to John Parker, captain of the minute-men, a veteran of the colonial wars. These, gathered at Revere's alarm on their parade ground the Green at the fork of the roads, but finding no enemy coming, had scattered near by till again summoned. Sixty or seventy now hastily collected at sound of drum and guns, ordered not to fire unless fired on ("but if they want a war, it may as well begin here," added Parker). Gage had given the same orders to his own officers; which would seem to leave only a push of bayonet to decide the right of way, but men full of fight rarely suffer disappointment.

Pitcairn comes up

Pitcairn came upon the scene about sunrise, took the drumming as a declaration of war, halted his men to load, and then ordered a charge at double-quick. The Americans were still forming in order of battle when the British came rushing on; Pitcairn and his captains shouting "Ye villains! ye rebels! disperse! lay down your arms!"

1775
April 19

Then apparently a pistol, American or British only Omniscience can tell,[1] flashed in the pan, while the owner was either trying to fire or nervously fumbling with the trigger. A few harmless musket-shots, again of uncertain origin, followed, Pitcairn on his own word trying to stop the firing; then a general discharge from the British, which killed and wounded several. Smith's head of column was thought to be seen up the road, and the overmatched provincials drew off returning the fire, but ineffectively, only wounding two of the British; who fired with cooler aim as long as the retreating Americans remained in sight, also killing one with a bayonet and shooting one prisoner who tried to escape. Eight in all were killed and ten wounded. One-fourth or more of the patriot band had been struck down in this first birth-throe of the Revolutionary War.

Lexington: Opening skirmish of the Revolution

But this was only the prologue to the eventful drama of the 19th of April. The British force marched on to Concord, seven to eight miles by the then road. Here the salient features were a mile-long ridge on their right, whose fifty-foot crest ended sharply at the meeting-house square; a

Concord

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[1] Each side was naturally anxious to throw the technical blame of the first attack on the other, but for us the question is pointless: the war had to begin somehow. And let us not forget that to strain points against the British is to discredit the self-sacrifice of the Americans. The heroes of the Revolution were no heroes if they expected not to risk their lives, but to escape with a whole skin on a legal quibble. They could not have at once the honors of martyrdom and the inglorious security of a lawsuit. The real judgment must be on the policy of the previous decade, of which both sides at Lexington were but the executive agents; and the verdict of history has fixed that beyond recall.

1775 April 19

brook on the left, with a mill-pond near the square; and the small sluggish Concord River beyond the village, crossed by the North and South bridges a mile or more away. Aroused before two, part of the community, under Colonel James Barrett, rapidly scattered the remaining stores in the woods and nooks, though unable to remove the three cannon left; while the minute-men and militia were later ordered across the North Bridge to a height near by, to wait the reinforcements known to be hastening from every surrounding town.

Concord: stores and minute-men

Smith held the village centre with part of his forces, and detailed two large companies to seize the bridges and send out detachments to find and destroy the stores. The result was incredibly petty for the dreadful bloodshed of that day: they threw 500 pounds of ball into the pond, staved in sixty barrels of flour (nearly half saved later), burnt some wooden dishes and carriage wheels, and knocked off the trunnions of the cannon. The centre body, lying idle, amused themselves by cutting down the liberty-pole and firing the court-house, which however was extinguished.

Meagre British finds

By half-past nine, six towns had poured in their minute-men: some 450 were on the north ridge. They were maddened by seeing the British moving about on their errands of destruction, saw fires in the village, and feared it was being burnt. A volunteer party of 300 under Major John Buttrick charged down and along the swamp causeway to recapture the North Bridge, held by about 100 regulars; received a fire at close range,

Americans recapture North Bridge

which killed a captain and a private and wounded a third; returned it, killing one and wounding a number, and pushed over the bridge, actually crowding off the British, who hurriedly retreated to a supporting detachment.

1775
April 19

Smith now drew in his parties, and spent the two hours until noon in making preparations to return; hours that cost scores of his men's lives and very nearly their annihilation. But he doubtless fully expected the reinforcements from Boston to arrive by that time. Such an uprising, however, made it imperative to send artillery, which enforced taking the longer land route by the Neck and Roxbury and the Brighton bridge; and the machine woodenness of Gage's adjutant's office caused some three hours' delay in starting. Finally Percy, selected as commander, got away about nine o'clock, with something like 1200 men and two field-pieces. The Cambridge selectmen had taken up the bridge flooring to check his march, but thriftily piled the planks on the other side, and his men clambered over the string-pieces and easily relaid them enough for the troops and guns to cross. The provision train, however, was delayed till they could be bolted down, and the Americans captured it. At Cambridge common, where unmarked roads diverged, Percy was quite at sea, but a witless patriot schoolmaster gave him the right direction instead of heading him to Lechmere Point; and between two and three he met Smith's retreating column half a mile beyond Lexington meeting-house.

Concord: Delay in reinforcements

Lord Percy's relief march

Meets Smith

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Concord: Havoc among retreating British

Smith had started about noon, guarding his left flank by troops along the Concord ridge, his right covered by the brook; but beyond the ridge, the minute-men and the other militia from near two dozen towns, for many miles around, closed in upon him in a grapple to the death. Hills, roads, woods swarmed with them, says a British soldier, as if they had "dropped from the clouds." They took cover where they could and fought heroically in the open when they must, like brave but sensible soldiers in all wars.[1] Again and again they made fierce assaults in embodied companies; repeatedly they broke up and utilized stone walls, rail-piles, trees, boulders, corners of buildings, as chance fortifications, fighting without order of battle; for miles along the great woods-lane that stretched between Concord and Lexington, the British moved as through an ambush, though open enough so that they made the Americans pay a heavy price in return. The latter fired from roadside and field into the long solid line of regulars; they outflanked and shot down the rear-guard; they occupied the Bedford cross-road and the country lanes as the British passed, and steadily thinned their ranks with a hail of musket-balls. If the British detachments charged to clear their flanks and dislodge the provincials, "they only became a better mark to be shot at," says a minister who marched with his company.

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[1] The idea, so much disseminated from its picturesque contrast with the British regulars, that the Americans in this battle were unorganized bushwhacking farmers, taking pot-shots at the enemy on their private account, is not only pure fiction, but impossible and absurd. They were trained and legally enrolled militia, who came to the fight in bodies under their commanders.

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By the time they neared Lexington, one-third their number were killed or disabled; their ammunition was nearly gone; the light troops, used on the search parties in Concord, were exhausted by fifteen hours' steady marching without sleep, and all were sagging with the heat of one of those intense preludes to summer so common in New England springs; their order was broken by the many scores of wounded to be carried; they were becoming a mob whom the officers, with drawn swords and fierce threats, could scarcely keep in line. The provincials, now with Warren in their midst and headed by General William Heath, noted this and their slackened firing and charging, and pressed on them, pouring in a still deadlier fire. Surrender to avoid extermination was close at hand. But at this juncture Percy's powerful force came into view. Rushing to the shelter of the hollow square he formed, they lay on the ground and panted like tired and overheated dogs.

Lexington: British nearing destruction

Percy's cannon held the Americans awhile at bay, and the worn regulars rested. Then he moved back along the road to Charlestown, where the men-of-war's guns would protect him, followed and harassed by the provincials; while his troops indemnified themselves by plunder, arson, and murder on the way. They wantonly fired several buildings and defaced others, looted where they could, murdered an invalid in his house and a mother nursing her child.

Percy's retreat

Barbarous outrages

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19–20

At Menotomy the Danvers company, the van of the Essex militia, stalked them from a walled farm-yard with bundles of shingles for a breastwork, and behind trees; but were surrounded and seven killed. As the regulars wound under Prospect Hill (Somerville), the Americans' hopes of cutting off the whole body grew warm: two or three thousand minute-men were converging on it from all quarters, while Percy was cumbered with wounded and marching slowly, and his slack fire showed that he had little ammunition left. They poured in fiercer discharges, and Percy had to stop and plant his cannon once more to keep them at a distance; and they hung on his rear till they reached Charlestown common, just outside the Neck, where Heath called them off. The regulars passed the Neck about sunset, firing wild and killing a boy; occupied Bunker Hill and guarded the Neck for the night, but by sunrise the next day had returned to their quarters in Boston.

Percy's perilous retreat from Lexington

Narrow escape

Thus ended the twenty-hour campaign of Wednesday, April 19, 1775, and Dartmouth's benevolent attempt to prevent a war by starving it into hopelessness. The British had destroyed perhaps $250 worth of supplies, probably balanced by the wagon-train the Americans captured; burnt, smashed, and stolen private property which a provincial committee estimated at £3239; forced the provincials to expend ammunition they could not spare; killed 49 persons and wounded 38 in legitimate fight, and three out of it, besides five of unknown fate. This had cost themselves 73 killed,

Balance sheet of results

174 wounded, and 26 prisoners and missing—273 against 95; shown their present impotence to impose their will on the colonies; and inaugurated a seven-years' war to end in losing them all. The balance does not lean to the side of profit.

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But 6000 more troops superbly generaled were on the way: the provincial leaders knew that they had merely roused the lion, not conquered it, and felt that salvation depended on utilizing the respite to the uttermost. Before the next morning the Committee of Safety had drafted a circular letter to every town in the province, begging it fervidly to hurry forward its militia to Boston and to hasten the enlistment of more. "Our all is at stake," they wrote: "every moment is infinitely precious; an hour lost may deluge your country in blood." Six days later they sent one to the other New England colonies, asking for all the men that could be spared.

Exigent Massachusetts appeal

The recipients, however, had not waited for the formal call: the news of Lexington and the driving of the British back into Boston was enough; what Gage had tried to forestall was on him in a flood at that undreamed-of disaster. From every quarter the minute-men poured in, in organized bodies and as individual volunteers, till within a week they swelled to many thousands; scarcely a town in New England lacked a representative among them. Finding on arrival, however, that there was no immediate emergency, a large part returned home to wait further call, for supplies, or to make necessary home arrangements for a

New England in a flame

1775 April

prolonged absence, and half the army melted away almost at once. But enough remained to form a respectable cordon around Boston, camped across its outlets in every direction, extending sixteen miles from the Mystic River to Dorchester Neck.

Leaguer of Boston: real service

Gage indeed could have broken through easily enough, but it was the last thing he thought of: was he to waste his soldiers' lives and imperil his whole force in more Lexingtons without even an objective, or enlarge his lines only to make them harder to defend? So far from trying to break out, he was in constant uneasiness lest the place he was in might be assailed and untenable. The immediate value of the beleaguerment was political and not military. The spectacle of the city whose military occupancy was to end colonial disobedience, left in a moment almost a lone rock in a continental sea of insurrection, was of inestimable worth to the American cause.

Putnam

Arnold

Foremost to answer the signal trumpet were the war-horses of the French and Indian wars. From northeast Connecticut, our old acquaintance Israel Putnam, a Ulysses of mingled daring and exhaustless resource, left his oxen in the furrow at the news and galloped straight to Cambridge, making the sixty-eight miles in one day. Benedict Arnold, who as a stripling had fought at Ticonderoga, then became a West India merchant and champion fighter and patriot, now a New Haven druggist and captain of a volunteer company, defied General Wooster's injunction not to march with it until orders were received, forced the town committee by threats of breaking open the magazine to give him ammunition, and was at Cambridge with his force on the 29th. From New Hampshire, John Stark of Londonderry, another famous ranger and born leader, daring, eccentric, sturdily upright, trusted with enthusiasm by all, rode thither as swiftly at the head of some 300 fellow-citizens. Both Putnam and Stark were welcomed to important commands. From Massachusetts, William Prescott had served under Winslow in the Acadian deportation, and been offered a commission in the regular army, but refused; Artemas Ward had served with credit from 1755 till after Abercrombie's campaign, and in it; Seth Pomeroy the gunsmith and Richard Gridley the engineer had won laurels at Louisbourg, and Gridley was one of the best military engineers of his day; John Thomas was an old soldier, in every campaign from 1746 to Amherst's march against Montreal (strangely destined to die in another campaign against it), no less beloved for his noble and chivalrous character than respected for ability. Countless lesser men had been in these wars.

Prescott, Ward, Pomeroy, Gridley, Thomas

Some civilians too found here their true vocation, and the road to great deeds and fame. Pre-eminent was Nathanael Greene of Warwick, Rhode Island, ironmaster of close on thirty-three; a passionate student from youth of military science, and expelled from the Quaker communion for military exercises; now a member-elect of the Assembly. He hurried to Cambridge, but finding himself not then needed, returned and served in

Greeue

1775 April

the legislature till given the chief command of the Rhode Island army. Thus each of the four colonies contributed native ability and expert training of the first order to the general cause.

New England militia

The minute-men as a whole were picked men, so selected as the best shots and quickest at drill. They were, too, largely of the very type of the Ironsides, solid farmers and good artisans who knew well what they were fighting for. Never was a throng less like the rabble of untrained and misled peasants whom British ignorance fancied, than the army around Boston. Ward, though seventy-five, took command as senior general. But as usual wherever he was, Warren was the most efficient executive head, from his combination of practical ability and power of winning affection; no one did so much to keep order and discipline.

Warren

Estimate of forces needed

Three days after the battle the Provincial Congress reassembled at Concord. Its business, if difficult, was single: to provide for the needs of war. It fixed on 30,000 as the requisite number of soldiery from the four New England colonies, and voted 13,600 as Massachusetts' proportion; as will be seen, the latter came down to 11,500, and the others in place of 16,400 granted 9500, and by mid-June had furnished 4500. Ward was made commander-in-chief, Thomas lieutenant-general, Gridley chief engineer.

Rhode Island, the nearest of the three sister colonies and with least territory to gather its delegates from, acted first. News of the battle reached Providence the same night. The firmly loyalist but honestly patriotic governor, Joseph Wanton, was induced to issue immediate writs for an Assembly, which on the 25th voted to raise an "army of observation" of 1500 men. Wanton and the Council protested against assenting to this, as a violation of their oaths of office and the colony's allegiance, likely to forfeit its charter and involve it in war; the Assembly resolved to proceed without them, and they yielded.

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Rhode Island takes action

Connecticut's patriot governor, the old merchant Jonathan Trumbull,[1] also summoned the Assembly at once; and on the 26th it voted to raise six regiments each of 1000 men, whose senior colonel was Joseph Spencer, the best known being Putnam, David Wooster, and Samuel Holden Parsons.

Connecticut takes action

New Hampshire had for chief executive the sincere, moderate, and influential loyalist governor John Wentworth. He had summoned the Provincial Congress for May 4, and the Committee of Safety did not feel like anticipating its action; but it called a special convention of delegates from the nearest towns, which voted to have the towns forward supplies to Stark's volunteers. Meantime the officers of the latter at Medford, on the 26th, advised their men to enlist under Massachusetts, and voted to have Stark command them pending

New Hampshire's action

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[1] Father of Trumbull the painter, and then sixty-four; afterwards one of Washington's most intimate, valued, and serviceable friends, and accredited by dubious tradition as the original "Brother Jonathan." But that epithet seems to have been used long before as a slighting nickname for New England country youth, pretty much like "Reub" now; compare "Jacques Bonhomme."

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decision of the legislature. This adjourned to the 17th to consider North's conciliation scheme: but on May 20 voted to raise 2000 men including those already enlisted, whom it adopted; Nathaniel Folsom was made brigadier-general, John Stark and James Reed colonels. With great good sense, this force was placed under Ward's command.

Effect of Lexington

As the report of Lexington swept southward with fire in its bosom, an electric signal to the tense expectancy of the colonies, its effects were as various as their political and social conditions.

New York action

New York, more feudalized and more Anglican and hence less radically antagonistic to England than was New England, always cosmopolite and more concerned with business than abstract principles, had a far more powerful loyalist element, headed by the fiery old lieutenant-governor Cadwallader Colden, which controlled the Assembly and refused to appoint delegates to the new Continental Congress. After a violent struggle, a provincial convention was called and appointed them over the Assembly's head April 22. News of Lexington was received early the next day, Sunday, and the patriots instantly rose under their general committee of fifty-one and left the royal government a phantom. They confiscated the cargoes of two sloops laden with supplies for Gage, £80,000 worth. They closed the custom-house and forbade clearance of any vessels for Boston, Quebec, Newfoundland, or Georgia, where royal authority still existed. The military stores of the city were seized; a battery was planted at King's Bridge to

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command the Harlem; a new and more zealous committee of one hundred were appointed, of whom eighty-three formed an association pledged to submit to people's committees and Congress, and resist Parliamentary taxation with their lives, an open letter to that effect being sent to the London corporation, for the people of Great Britain. The loyalist Assemblymen sent a message to Gage entreating him to suspend hostilities till fresh orders from the King; and the Council sent two agents to London to complain how greatly Gage's action had injured the King's cause.

New York: patriots and loyalists

The New Jersey Committee of Correspondence summoned a Provincial Congress to meet at Trenton May 23. The royalist governor William Franklin tried to balk them by calling the legal Assembly for the 15th and laying North's proposal before it; but the body refused to consider it except with the approval of the Continental Congress. The Provincial Congress met, formed an association like New York's eighty-three, and voted to organize its militia pending a general plan for a regular army.

New Jersey

Philadelphia received the news April 24. A town meeting was at once called by the patriot committee, whose moving spirit was the ardent young Thomas Mifflin, the Samuel Adams of Pennsylvania. The brilliant new immigrant Thomas Paine, philosophic radical and freethinker, also animated them to immediate action. The city raised thirty large companies, daily exercised in musketry: one of them from the Quakers, which

Pennsylvania

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body split in two on the issue (see page 1242). Other towns and counties emulated this action. John Dickinson of the "Farmer's Letters," and the leading lawyers Thomas McKean, later chief justice, and James Wilson the Signer, took command of regiments. On May 1 the Assembly of Pennsylvania met; resolved to pay no attention to North's proposal, but act with the other colonies; and appointed a Committee of Safety with Franklin chairman. The Assembly of the Lower Counties (Delaware) had already on March 6 appointed delegates to the new Continental Congress.

After Lexington: Pennsylvania

Maryland from its history was not likely to be extreme: the large Catholic element was at the opposite pole of feeling from that which was pushing on the Revolution, and the province was quietly comfortable; and the governor, Robert Eden, was greatly esteemed and beloved. Hence, when on the demand of the militia colonels he surrendered to them the public arms and ammunition, the Assembly instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to work for conciliation.

Maryland

In Virginia, Lord Dunmore on April 21 had removed all the ammunition from the capital, Williamsburg, and placed it on board an armed vessel in the river, to keep it out of the patriots' hands. At the news of Lexington, Patrick Henry on May 2 called together the county committee and militia of Hanover County, and marched on the capital to demand its restitution, new bodies joining them as they went. Dunmore in alarm fortified his mansion, put his family aboard a war-vessel,

Virginia

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and sent a messenger to pay them £330 as the estimated value of the ammunition, pretending that he had feared a slave insurrection; and they went home. Two days later he proclaimed them public enemies, but county after county sent them its warm approval.

North Carolina

The Carolinas had had a long apprenticeship to revolt, and were steeped in the traditions of hostility to English interference. About the 3d of May the tidings came to Newbern, the capital of North Carolina. A Provincial Congress had already met, April 5, and elected delegates to the Continental Congress. The royalist governor, Joseph Martin, tried to disarm the town by dismantling its cannon; the people met in angry protest, and Martin in panic shipped his wife to New York and fled to Fort Johnston, under the protecting guns of a sloop-of-war. The county committee of Mecklenburg County formally resolved that all ties to the mother country were broken by the action of Parliament, and recommended that each provincial congress be invested with all legislative and executive powers within its own territory, under direction of the Continental Congress. These resolutions were intrusted to the delegates to Congress, but were not reported; later they formed the basis for the much-disputed story of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

South Carolina

In South Carolina, the Provincial Congress had given Charles Pinckney executive powers, under which on April 21 he had organized a committee of five to put the colony in a state of defense; and

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at once had the public magazines and the royal arsenal stripped of their arms and ammunition. Lexington hastened a fresh session of the Provincial Congress, which formed a patriot association, voted to raise three regiments, and pledged the public credit for £140,000 as sinews of war. The militia officers resigned their commissions from the royal governor and placed themselves under the orders of their Congress; a Council of Safety was formed; and their new governor, Lord William Campbell, just then arriving, was met with the firm assertion that the Congress "preferred death to slavery."

After Lexington: South Carolina

But the loyalist opposition in both Carolinas were as numerous and as fervent as the patriots; especially the Scotch back-country element, alien from the interests and feelings of the coast and tenacious of old traditions, was strongly Tory. Loyalist counter-associations were formed; and on both sides were ominous signs of the bitterness which later filled that section of the Carolinas with wolfish savagery.

Loyalists in the Carolinas

Little Georgia heard the news on May 10, and completed the union of the colonies and the entire Atlantic seaboard by adding her territories, our Spanish March. Her tiny population of not above 17,000 whites (plus 15,000 negroes that at least added no strength to her) was environed by three times that number of Indians, among the most powerful and warlike tribes on the continent—Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws; and Spain might take the opportunity to recover lost

Georgia

1775 April–May

ground. But the patriots at once laid hands on the contents of the royal magazine, and sent money and food to the Boston besiegers.

Sending reports to England

England too had its shock from the news; but it was a bomb of discord there. Each side in Massachusetts hastened to get its statement promptly before the British government and people, clear its skirts of blood, and assure itself of support from its own party—the other would not listen in any case. The colony had a report drawn up and verified by sworn testimony to show that its militia had only resisted an unprovoked assault; Gage had his, to show that he had only discharged an imperative political and military duty: each sent a special messenger, but the American took the Irish route and had his account before the mother country eleven days first, giving our Liberal friends a lead of great value. Gage's conduct both in a political and military view was criticised with great severity, to which his humiliating failure lent barbs; even the conservatives deprecated his action just when it was hoped the New York loyalists would accept the "conciliatory proposal."

English criticism

Canadian rising hoped

But while the general gaze in America and England was fixed on Boston, the leaders there were looking far beyond even colonial limits. It was hopefully expected by all that the Canadians would make common cause with the English colonists: surely a province of aliens lately torn by force from their own mother country would joyfully embrace the chance of revolt and local independence. But a junction of forces was obviously

1775
Spring

impossible while the British held the keys to the one practicable road of communication, through Lake Champlain and its outlet the Sorel (now Richelieu): the famous old fortress of Ticonderoga, commanding the outlet of Lake George into Champlain, and Crown Point eight miles north.

The northern forts

The patriots therefore resolved at the first outbreak of actual war to make a dash and seize them; the more that they were known to be poorly garrisoned and carelessly guarded,—being apparently in no more danger of attack from earthly source than if on the Thames,—and full of stores the Americans needed.

Meantime the patriot Committee of Correspondence, headed by Adams and Warren, wrote letters to Montreal to induce preparations for a rising; and in January John Brown, a young lawyer of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, was sent thither to make a personal effort toward it. His mission was futile: we have explained before why the inhabitants had neither wish nor energy to rise. They were few, mostly poor, hereditarily cowed and devoid of initiative, and were much better off under English rule than they ever had been under French. But Brown wrote to the Boston authorities March 29, as "a profound secret," that "Ticonderoga must be seized as soon as possible" if war broke out, and that "the people on New Hampshire Grants" (Vermont) "have engaged to do this business."

Why Canada hopes were abortive

He had no monopoly of the idea; and Connecticut, from which mainly came the Green Mountain

1775 April–May

Boys and their most noted leaders,—the rough, powerful, freethinking Ethan Allen, the gallant and chivalrous Seth Warner, the young hero Remember Baker cut off in his flower,—had already resolved on its execution. But with their customary preference for acting so as not to commit the colony, the authorities took no official action and had no official knowledge. A private committee was formed, headed by three very notable men,—Samuel Wyllys, Silas Deane, and Colonel Samuel Holden Parsons,[1]—which was allowed to borrow public money on individual receipts. Castleton (now in southwestern Vermont) was appointed as a rendezvous; a swift messenger asked Allen to raise recruits, while the committee at home, and Brown and his fellow-townsman Colonel James Easton in Berkshire, Massachusetts, did the same. On May 7 the party—about a hundred Green Mountain boys, toward fifty Berkshire and sixteen Connecticut men—gathered at Castleton and chose Allen commander.

Connecticut men undertake Ticonderoga expedition

So does Arnold

But Benedict Arnold, knowing Ticonderoga of old, had already been eagerly at work on the same scheme. On the way to Cambridge he had met

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[1] Wyllys was son of the loyalist secretary of the colony, and later to succeed to that post, as the father had succeeded his father; ninety-eight years without a break did these three generations hold the post. Deane was to be involved in a squalid tragedy as the result of attempting to bargain for French assistance to America. Parsons is a historical enigma,—on the apparent evidence of his letters years later a secret traitor and British spy, with no assignable motive and at a time when the British cause was lost. There is little doubt that he was playing the part of Harvey Birch in Cooper's *Spy*—a pretended traitor to gain British confidence for the use of the patriot cause.

1775 April–May

Parsons and told him of the state of the fortress. At once on his arrival he laid the plan before the Committee of Safety (Warren its head); it was warmly welcomed. Arnold was commissioned colonel and authorized to raise 400 troops; on capturing the fortress he was to garrison it and bring the stores to Boston. They gave him money, horses, and ammunition, and he set off at full speed. Arriving at Stockbridge in Berkshire, he found that he had been anticipated; left his officers to raise troops, hurried forward, met the expedition on the 9th, and claimed the command in right of his commission. The party, purely volunteers with no official sanction and bound to no official obedience, refused to consider it. Arnold would not be left out of such an adventure, his very own, and with his usual largeness of mind went along as a volunteer; but was tacitly conceded a position beside Allen. The dispute, however, was of evil omen to Arnold: it began the long New England feud against him which had much to do with the series of insults that wore out his faith in the cause.

Arnold vs. Connecticut volunteers

Bad results of dispute

The expedition was not a helter-skelter raid of amateur militia: it was full of trained scouts, rangers, fighters of Indians and whites, and officers used to command and grounded in military craft, and its success was the deserved result of expert skill and care. All the roads were picketed to prevent warnings being given. Allen with the main body, about 140 men, was to march straight to Shoreham, on the lake opposite Ticonderoga, which was held by Captain Delaplace with some fifty

Plan of Ticonderoga expedition

men; Captain Herrick with thirty men should seize the establishment of the British agent Major Skene[1] at Skenesborough (Whitehall), some twenty miles south on Wood Creek near the river-like head of the lake, and rejoin Allen at the earliest moment with the captured boats and stores; Captain Drylas was to go about as far in the other direction, to Panton on a wider part of the lake, then a considerable landing for boat trade, capture all the boats and bateaus he could find, and hurry back to Shoreham.

Plan of Ticonderoga expedition

This was reached on the night of the 9th. Allen found a farmer lad who knew the entire inside arrangement of the fort as well as the paths to it; but when it neared dawn, and only eighty-three men had crossed in the few boats at hand, nothing had appeared from the other parties. To wait for the rest meant no surprise, an assault in daylight, and probably a bloody repulse. Allen in low tones explained the situation and asked for volunteers, and with one accord all signified assent; then in three ranks, Allen and Arnold side by side, they moved rapidly but softly up to the gate. The wicket was open, there being seemingly

Partial miscarriage

The fort surprised

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[1] Philip Skene was a most valuable man, of immense ability and energy, whom it is a pity we could not have retained as a citizen. He was a distinguished soldier, who by grants and purchase had obtained 60,000 acres (equal to nearly 9 3-4 miles square) on and along Lake Champlain; built forges and saw-mills, and vessels for lake trade; was judge, postmaster, militia commander, etc. Just now he was in England soliciting a colonelcy and the command of Ticonderoga, which he received; it had changed hands twice before his return. Serving England through the Revolution, he prepared to resume life as a good American; but his property was confiscated and he remained in England.

1775 May

no enemy to shut it against. The sentry pulled trigger, but the flint-lock missed fire, and he fled through the sally-port to the parade with the Americans on his heels. Another sentry who showed fight was cowed by a blow on the head from Allen's sword; and with terrific war-whoops the Americans formed a line opposite each of the two ranges of barracks, capturing the garrison as they tumbled out.

Ticonderoga garrison captured

Allen demanded to be shown Delaplace's apartment; guided by his farm-lad he ran up the stairs outside the barracks, and (according to one of his soldiers there) called out in a voice of thunder, "Come out of here, you —— old rat!" adding that otherwise he would slaughter the whole garrison. Delaplace grasped his indispensables, rushed out, and was saluted with an order to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" stammered the dumbfounded commandant. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" shouted Allen. Delaplace did not recognize the latter (which had no more authorized or even known of the scheme than himself, and only met to organize six hours later), or Allen as deputy for the former (a most unlikely one considering his agnosticism); but he did recognize eighty-odd muskets against one man. The fort that had cost Great Britain years of time, millions of pounds, and thousands of lives, to take, was wrested from her by less than a hundred provincials in ten minutes without a shot. The spoils were simply priceless to the ill-armed provincial force: 174 artillery pieces, and

With commandant

The spoils

1775 May

vast quantities of ammunition, boat-building material, and food stores.

Arnold and Allen again

Arnold claimed command of the fortress, as the only officer authorized to guard the stores and send them to the Boston army. The Connecticut committee refused in the name of their colony, and made Allen commander. Arnold appealed to Massachusetts; the Boston besiegers finally obtained part of the supplies.

Movement against Crown Point

Warner came up with the fifty to sixty other men just as the capture was accomplished, and was at once sent against Crown Point; but his boats could not make head against the violent wind, and not till two days later could he renew the attempt. Meantime the little garrison of a dozen men had heard of the capture of their stronger neighbor, and sent two light boats to St. John's and Montreal to ask for reinforcements. But Remember Baker at the Winooski, which flows into Champlain, had received a message from Allen to come to Ticonderoga with all the men he could muster; rowing up the lake he met and captured the boats, and meeting Warner just arrived at Crown Point, joined him in forcing an instant surrender of the petty garrison. Another mass of munitions was added to the first, swelled by those taken from Skene's storehouses by Herrick.

Its capture

Arnold looks to St. John's

Arnold was not to be balked of some useful adventure of his own. St. John's on the Sorel was too accessible from Montreal to be held, but its stores and vessels would be a valuable prize. Fifty recruits sent by Arnold's officers had joined

1775 May

him on the 14th by way of Skenesborough, so he had a force to command; and putting them on a schooner they had seized there and come up in, which he armed with some of the captured cannon, he sailed north. Entering the Sorel May 16, he captured by surprise a corvette lying there, forced a surrender of the post, loaded up the two vessels with its valuable stores, took along all the boats he found, and by a sudden shift of the wind was back at Ticonderoga in a few hours.

Arnold sacks St. John's

News of these splendid achievements was sent to the Committees of Safety of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, with an urgent request for reinforcements and supplies; and it was resolved to organize an army of the north to defend the new acquisitions, and perhaps form a basis for a movement on Canada, which it was still believed would rise if an American force drove out the British conquerors.

Holding the northern posts

Meantime the Continental Congress had met. Its membership included the greatest names of the Revolutionary epoch: Benjamin Franklin, just back from his mission to Europe; John and Samuel Adams; the noble Virginia delegation, Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson; New York sent George Clinton, Jay, and the Livingstons. And there were many of lesser note but equal zeal and courage. Peyton Randolph of Virginia, the presiding officer, was called home to preside over the Virginia Assembly called to consider North's offer; and Thomas Jefferson was sent in his place. John

The Continental Congress

Hancock was then elected president; and he was conducted to the chair by Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, who said defiantly, "We will show Great Britain how much we value her proscriptions."

1775 May–June

Hancock's presidency indicated radical action; but outside of New England, a majority still hoped for compromise with the mother country—always, however, on condition that the latter would recede and withdraw her armies. John Dickinson carried against the New-Englanders another petition to the King—Parliament was given up as hopeless. Congress also truly denied any intention of throwing off allegiance. On the other hand, it had been called together for the general defense against aggression, and could not let that work drop for months while the King did or did not send an answer, and his ministers flooded the country with troops. This in fact was the rock on which all negotiations broke: neither side could afford to stop and give the other more time for war preparations. Congress declared that hostilities had been begun by Great Britain, and the colonies must be put in a state of defense against schemes of Parliamentary taxation; forbade furnishing provisions to the British forces on land or sea, using colonial vessels to transport them, or negotiating their commanders' bills of exchange. But it would not go so far as to forbid their landing in New York and occupying barracks, only they must not fortify the city or cut off its communications; and it hesitated over allowing Connecticut to garrison the northern fortresses, a prize of offensive

Parties within Congress

Moving impulse

Chief obstacle

Cautious action

1775 May–June

warfare. It told Massachusetts, however, that the ordinance subverting her charter was entitled to no obedience, and advised her to construct a new one as near it as circumstances admitted.

Importance of choosing commander for army

Yet it stultified all compromise by adopting the army around Boston as the Continental line, and making choice of a commander-in-chief. Upon this last measure the success or failure of the Revolution hung far more than of most wars, for with no other leader would our independence have been achieved under the actual circumstances. But it involved self-suppression from the section then bearing the burden. The 16,000 New-Englanders watching Gage from the suburbs of Boston formed the only body that could be called an army, and they were already officered by trusted men of their own choosing. Their spokesmen would naturally insist on a commander-in-chief from New England; and the rich, energetic, and ambitious Hancock desired the place. He had no military experience, but no more had Greene, and Arnold only as a private. Yet this would have localized the rebellion and cooled the other colonies. The choice must be from another section; and the farther from the seat of war, the more firmly would the two ends of the loose-jointed fabric be clamped together.

Hancock wishes place

By a curious coincidence, the three candidates most talked of were all residents of Virginia. Two were English-born professional soldiers and adventurers, and adepts in intrigue. Charles Lee had won a lieutenant-colonelcy in the French and

Charles Lee

1775 May–June

Indian wars, served in various European armies, and for a year and a half traveled through America. His wide military experience, his arrogant self-confidence and harsh criticisms of others, and his general patronizing cynicism, gave him for a time a considerable following. The second was Horatio Gates, who came on with Washington. He had served in America from Braddock's campaign till 1762, then gained a majorship of brigade for conduct at the seizure of Martinique; sold out and came to Virginia in 1772, taking an active part in colonial politics as a patriot. He married an enormously wealthy wife, bought a great estate, was very genial, affable, and popular.

Charles Lee

Horatio Gates

The candidate of the Virginia delegation, however, was neither, but George Washington, whom we have met; then a delegate and commander of the Virginia militia. He was a member of the Virginia aristocracy, and one of the wealthiest men in America; one who regretted but accepted the Revolution. His great qualities—the inborn military insight, the general capacity unequal to no function and the lofty character which invited and justified all trust, the unfailing judgment, the combined caution and energy, the rare mental balance—were known to his fellow-provincials, and Patrick Henry said he was the greatest man on the floor of the house; the rest of the country came but gradually to know them. But it was obvious that a great Virginia planter would draw after him most of his section if any one could, and inspire confidence in the other sections; a rich man with

George Washington

Reasons for choosing

1775 June

everything to lose would not excite the suspicion attaching to an adventurer like Lee, nor a native of old lineage to a foreigner like Gates.

Washington chosen commander

John Adams, who felt the transcendent necessity of committing the great Southern interest to the struggle, smoothed the way for accepting the right decision by making on the floor of Congress a warm but dignified eulogy of Washington, who was elected on June 16. He made an affecting speech of acknowledgment, declaring with sincerity that he felt himself unequal to the command, and refusing to accept any pay except his mere expenses. That night John Adams wrote to a friend: "There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington: a gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease and hazarding all in the cause of his country."

Other general officers appointed

Only less important were the under-officers created. Ward and Lee, Philip Schuyler of Northern New York,—an influential great landholder and member,—and Putnam, were made major-generals, and Gates adjutant-general and brigadier. Gates and Lee were sharply opposed as unsafe adventurers, but Washington's voice on the ground of their military experience carried them through. The fears were right and he wrong: Lee's treachery and Gates' incompetence and intrigues nearly ruined him and the cause together. Congress also adopted as brigadiers the existent colony generals Pomeroy, Heath, and Thomas, of Massachusetts,

1775 May–June

Wooster and Spencer of Connecticut, and Greene of Rhode Island. John Sullivan, a New Hampshire lawyer-delegate, and Richard Montgomery, a New-Yorker married into the Livingstons, were also given brigadierships, both amply justified. The colonels and lesser officers in camp were adopted and commissioned by Congress.

Bunker Hill

The very day after Washington accepted his charge, and days before the other appointments were made, a fresh and terrible conflict assured the new organization of fully justifying its existence.

New England forces

The New England army at this time numbered about 16,000 in thirty-six regiments, twenty-seven from Massachusetts and three each from the rest: 11,500 men from the former, 2300 from New Hampshire, 1200 from Connecticut, 1000 from Rhode Island. The organization was chaotic. Each colony paid, supplied, and directed its own troops; Ward had official command only of those from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but the rest voluntarily conceded his headship and copied his orders. Only after Bunker Hill did Connecticut place her troops under him, and advise Rhode Island to do the same. The men, for reasons already given, were a constantly varying quantity, and almost fatally ill supplied for warfare: they lacked powder, bayonets, horses, clothing, and tents or barracks. Their strength lay in the really fine material and their intelligent purpose.

Defects

Gage's new men

On May 25 Gage's reinforcements arrived: some 6000 regulars, largely veterans, with Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. They had not heard the

1775 May–June

news, and expecting only dull garrison duty, brought fishing-rods to pass away the time; their astonishment at the facts may be imagined. Burgoyne was disgusted at thousands of British regulars being held in by double their number of "peasants," and declared that the new troops would soon make "elbow-room,"—a word which the citizens remembered and flung at him after his capture. Gage's forces were now over 10,000 in twenty regiments, finely officered, and apparently sure of an easy victory. Supplies were ample; but in the active struggle of both sides to secure the sole British source of fresh meat, the live-stock on the islands, the Americans won heavily, cutting their foes down closely to transport stores. They also gained great encouragement from victory in several skirmishes, one a quite brilliant little naval battle of Putnam's.

Burgoyne's "elbow-room"

Battles of the Islands

Each side strove to disembarrass itself by the clearing out or cowing of hostile elements, to be sure of receiving no stabs from behind, enable friends to escape being caught between two fires, and thus also avoid consequent embarrassment in military operations. The patriots threatened and mobbed the loyalists, sometimes treated them and their families with dastardly outrage, destroyed their property, and drove great numbers of waverers into exile or the British camp, or terrified them into abject silence or inaction. On their own side, at first their anxiety to leave Boston was fully equaled by Gage's solicitude to have them: he was in mortal dread of a combined assault

War on neutrals

1775 April–June

outside and rising inside, and made an agreement that all who would deposit their arms in the selectmen's care might depart unmolested with personal effects. At the same time, at his request, country loyalists were allowed by the Provincial Congress to move into Boston. Over 3400 weapons were given up (perhaps the best ones did not all go into the receivership), hundreds removed at once, and the Provincial Congress provided for moving and maintaining 5000 more unable to bear their own expenses. But this hegira roused great alarm among the loyalists, who believed that if the rebels had only enemies left within the city, they would surely burn it; and they expostulated and threatened till Gage, unwilling to alienate his only friends, violated his agreement by tricks that put an end to the exodus: withholding property, wording his passes to separate families, finally detaining wives and children openly as hostages for their male protectors. The inhabitants of Charlestown, rightly feeling sure from its position that it would be burnt in the struggle, almost entirely deserted it, and were provided for at general expense.

Patriots flock out of Boston

Restrained

Charlestown deserted

Connecticut, ever cautious to leave itself an open door, sent on the first of May a deputation to Gage offering to negotiate a suspension of hostilities between him and Massachusetts. The latter was needlessly alarmed at this humorous proposition, protested against separate negotiations, and voted Gage "an unnatural and inveterate enemy to this country," "utterly disqualified to serve this colony" in any capacity, and whom it was

Connecticut's offer to Gage

1775 June

under no obligation to obey. It is hard to keep in mind that the head of a foreign army to subjugate it was officially its civil ruler, consulting its welfare and to be obeyed. Gage's belated retort on June 12 was a sign that, his splendid force all in and longing for action, he meant to begin his outward movement at once. It declared the province in "avowed rebellion," led by "well-known incendiaries and traitors"; and proclaimed martial law through it, but offered pardon to all who would desert the rebel party, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The Provincial Congress drew up a counter-proclamation, but never issued it. Bunker Hill supplied a better answer.

Gage's proclamation

The Americans during their breathing-space had constructed a few redoubts, of which the most immediately important was that on Roxbury Heights, commanding the Providence and Brookline roads (the latter Percy's route to Lexington). Gage, however, with sound judgment resolved not to break through there, but by occupying Bunker Hill 110 feet high, just inside Charlestown Neck, command a much shorter road to the interior; and also occupy Dorchester Heights (now South Boston), which in provincial hands would render the city itself untenable and the fleet unsafe. There seemed no reason for haste, as the Americans had made no move toward them; and about June 12 he fixed on the night of the 18th to occupy Dorchester Heights.

American fortifications

Gage to occupy commanding positions

But the Americans knew all his plans in advance through their secret sympathizers; and as

1775 May–June

early as May 12 a council of war had discussed anticipating him at both spots, only refraining because they lacked both heavy cannon and ammunition. Troops would be raked by the 200 guns of the fleet and the numerous floating batteries and "gondolas" (scows), and if without the cannon would be cut off and captured. Putnam, Prescott, Pomeroy, and other veterans of the French wars, however, had urged it against Warren and Ward; and when Gage's new plan was at once revealed, they carried through in a new council of war a resolve to seize Bunker Hill,—mainly to draw Gage out of Boston and fight him on equal terms.

Gage to be forestalled

Prescott was made commander of the expedition, Gridley was to plan and supervise the works; and about 1200 men with intrenching tools, besides a company of artillery with two field-pieces, set out (after prayer) on the starlight moonless night of the 16th and climbed the 300-yard slope of the hill. At the top a council of war was held. The orders were explicit, and the officers' own suggestion; but on the ground they judged that a hill 38 feet lower a half-mile further on, called Breed's Hill, near the open bay and opposite Boston North End, was the better position if any at all could be held. It made retreat more perilous, and Putnam advised protecting that by small works on Bunker Hill, connected with Breed's by a ridge; but it commanded the Copp's Hill battery, which it might silence and force the British to evacuate the North End, and was in no more danger from the fleet than the other. It was so decided, the

By fortifying Bunker Hill

Breed's Hill chosen

1775 June 16–17

lines rapidly laid out, and the men set to work at desperate strain with pick and shovel.

The "Bunker Hill" works

The redoubt was about eight rods on the longest side, and six feet high, with wood-and-earth platforms inside to shoot from. It faced a steep slope on the south, ended southeast by a deep ravine; beyond which rose the low Morton's Hill, sloping to Moulton's Point on the water. East it overlooked a large field. It opened north, the side of the Mystic, toward which was carried a trench and breastwork to a pond about a hundred yards off surrounded by marsh. Thence to the river was open; but Colonel Knowlton, sent thither, found a rail fence 200 yards back, built another parallel, and filled in between with the new-mown grass.

Rail fences

Bombardment by British

Daybreak revealed the half-finished works, and the ships and their lesser companions began to pour in broadsides, which they kept up many hours; even Copp's Hill joined in. None of them did much harm, and the Americans calmly finished their task, ending at about eleven; then, tired out, drooping with heat, and largely empty since supper from neglecting orders to bring their food, prepared to defend their creation against the flower of the British army. They had been joined since morning by Stark and a company, who were sent to the rail fence; and by Warren, just appointed a major-general, but who refused to take the command from Prescott and served as a volunteer.

New troops

The pandemonium of course brought the Boston field glasses at once into play, and revealed the astounding new portent. The Americans must be

1775 June 17

dislodged, or fleet and town alike were unsafe; but a hurried council of war differed as to method. A majority favored occupying the Neck and forcing a surrender by famine; but Gage opposed it strongly. It left them time to do all the mischief, —he did not know their lack of heavy guns,—and it placed his forces between a superior army and an intrenched army and risked their own capture. Quite as strong reasons were that the British regulars were enraged at this impudent defiance by the despised rabble, and sore that it had so long cut them down to salt junk and hard-tack, and longed for vengeance; and that "they would not believe the Americans would fight," so said the disgusted Ruggles, and expected the glory of driving out this riff-raff with little risk. A feint on Roxbury, however, was to be made by a heavy bombardment, to keep Ward from sending reinforcements, as it largely did. But Prescott on his side would not send for any till too late: he scouted such British folly as a front attack, and said if they did come they would be defeated, and the men who raised the fort were the ones to defend it.

Gage decides to storm, not invest

Prescott's bad judgment

About 3000 of the best troops in Boston were selected for the assault, led by Howe with Pigot second, and superb under-officers. About noon they began to embark, and under cover of a storm of shot and shell from the fleet, to land at Moulton's Point. By three o'clock all were over and prepared to move. A furious preliminary cannonade disabled part of the American cannon, and frightened the youthful commander of the rest off

British ready to advance

1775 June 17

the field; Putnam had his pieces taken to the rail fence for his own use. Shortly Howe led one wing of the assailants against this and the breastwork to take the redoubt in the rear, while Pigot led the other through the ravine straight up the slope.

Bunker Hill: First charge

The veterans of the French and Indian War had not forgotten the familiar lore developed by experience or floated over from the Great Frederick, and instructed the ranks: "Fire low—aim at their waistbands;" "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes;" "Aim at the handsome coats" (to pick off the officers). Save a few scattering shots the orders were obeyed; and just as each body of the British, scarce fifty yards from the goal, after toiling with heavy knapsacks through grass and over stone walls in a blazing sun, firing useless volleys over or against the works, fancied exultantly that the "peasants" were about to surrender or run without even a return, a crash of musketry burst in their faces and their whole front rank went down. The survivors hesitated; but ramrod and priming-pan could work almost as swiftly as breech-loaders in expert even if tired hands, and under the hail of bullets from behind parapet or fence-work, not a man would have lived to climb over. Both bodies turned and retreated in hurried disorder, largely officerless.

Second charge

Out of range the British were quickly re-formed, and again moved forward exactly as before, save that Howe covered his march with an artillery play that did some damage. Meantime fire-shells from Copp's Hill and a party of marines

1775 June 17

had combined in setting Charlestown on fire, that the volumes of smoke from its four hundred houses might conceal the British advance; but the wind blew it harmlessly aside. This time the Americans, confident even to contemptuousness, waited until the brilliant red coats were but eighty to a hundred feet away; then volley after volley of death-shots rained on them in such a continuous shower that the carnage was past endurance, or hope of scaling those awful barriers. Howe's aides and surrounding officers were shot by his side till he was nearly alone, and his white gaiters were soaked in his companions' blood; the remaining officers in vain strove to urge the men forward by blows and sword-pricks—they fled to the shore like a mob. Still the American loss was a trifle.

Bunker Hill: second charge

For more than an hour there was a lull. Howe's officers were holding a council of war; the majority protested against leading the troops to such fruitless butchery again. Howe simply said it was that or evacuate Boston, which was exaggerated; but if he did not care to win too many or crushing victories, he had no notion of being actually beaten in any engagement. Four hundred fresh marines had landed; Clinton had hurried over and aided in rallying the routed regiments on the beach, who hung sulkily back—even for professional life-riskers the chances were too fearfully small. But about five o'clock the third and last advance was begun; this time without knapsacks, fire to be reserved and bayonets used, and the artillery well forward to sweep the breastwork. But even

Howe persists

Last charge

1775 June 17

without this, the patriots were defeated by their one ever-pressing want. Now those reinforcements that came too late would have turned the tide, not by fresh hands but fresh powder; for it was almost gone.

Bunker Hill:

Once more, as the British came to that ghastly dead-line, they staggered under one sweeping discharge after another; then these grew fitful; the assailants gained shelter under the walls; the artillery penetrated the gap between breastwork and fencework and drove the defenders of the former into the redoubt. The first file of British who scaled it were shot down to a man; but the last of the powder was going, and the enemy swarmed in, mixing with the defenders. Major Pitcairn fell mortally wounded into the arms of his son under one of the latest shots, which were impotently followed by stones. As the Americans withdrew, the British revenged the havoc among themselves by pouring in a destructive fire among them; one of the victims was the noble Warren, the Hampden or Washington of Massachusetts. The furious enemy pursued them over Bunker Hill with dreadful slaughter; nearly all the American loss was in this retreat. But some of the belated reinforcements came up just in time to prevent their entire destruction; and the unconquered Americans at the rail fence, seeing the retreat, gave ground with slow firm step, and held back a flank onrush that would have annihilated the whole body. Putnam and Pomeroy, themselves facing the British almost within bayonet reach, tried hard to have those with

British enter redoubt

Slaughter of Americans; Warren

Orderly retreat secured

ammunition make a stand at the unfinished works on Bunker Hill, but they were too few and in part worn out. At length the Americans succeeded in running the gantlet of floating batteries and crossing the Neck beyond pursuit.

1775 June 17

Bunker Hill:

In relative loss of life to the assailants, Bunker Hill ranks among the bloodiest battles of modern times; if we take also its briefness, it stands almost alone. The three short charges and the pursuit took up little over an hour. Yet out of some 3500 British actually engaged, 226 were reported killed and 828 wounded—1054, or nearly one-third. British officers of Frederick's wars declared that they had never been through such hot firing or seen such slaughter. Whole regiments were nearly obliterated; one grenadier company had but five men left and not an officer; all Howe's staff were killed or mortally wounded but one, and he disabled. Over *one-seventh* of the entire loss was in officers, 157 in all. Of the Americans, from perhaps 2200 engaged, 140 were killed and 271 wounded, besides 30 captured.

Terrible carnage

The space given to this battle is justified by its immense political and military results. It was well that the battle was fought, and well that it was lost. On the surface it was an important and fruitful victory for the British: it gave them the power of remaining in Boston till they were pretty well ready to leave it. But that was the best place on the continent for them to be, in our interests: their grand army was nearly as innocuous there as if prisoners. It could neither move inland nor

Fruitful results

Well lost

1775 June 17 et seq.

Bunker Hill:

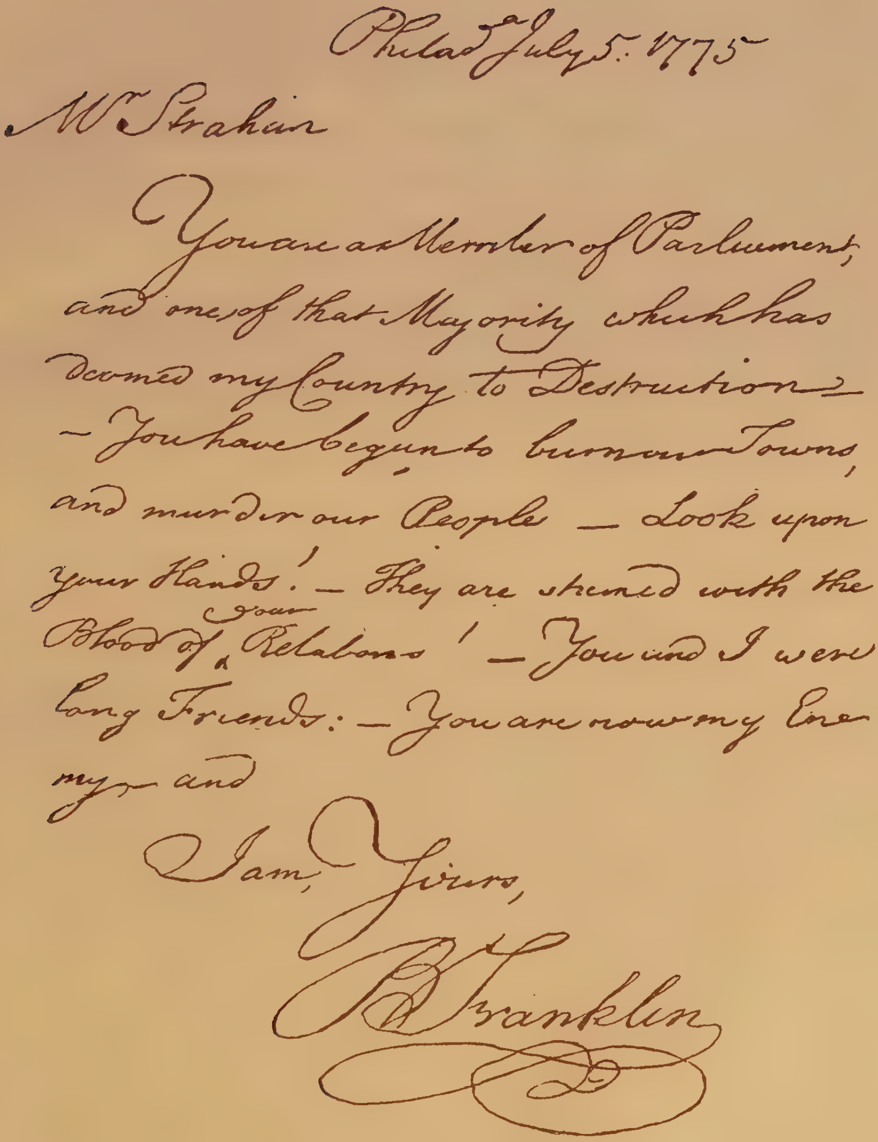
Rightly fought

British folly

furnish an iota of support to operations elsewhere. Driven from there, it would probably have gone to New York or the Carolinas, and at that early stage have wrought us irreparable harm. Ability to hold Charlestown Heights might have cost us success in the Revolution. On the other hand, not to have occupied them would almost certainly have laid open New England to the enemy, by a disastrous pitched battle on the Concord route whenever the British chose to move out in overwhelming strength: Lexington could happen but once. This, it is true, would equally have occurred had they used common-sense and penned Prescott's force in a trap; we were saved by their stupid contempt, which enabled us to exact so fearful a price for the capture that it cowed them from attempting to invade the interior. The victory kept them from leaving Boston either for retreat or advance.

Differing judgments

This was not so plain then, and many denounced the whole enterprise as ill-judged and a useless bloodshed. But others and foreigners judged more truly: if British victories could be won only at such a cost, one campaign would leave no army to fight; and even with all abatements, to conquer a continent bit by bit with such stubborn resistance was a tremendous undertaking. The talk of "peasants" and "rabble" was ended forever: the British officers said they would rather fight French regulars. On our own side, Greene said, "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price;" and both Washington and Franklin saw that England had lost the war.



Philada July 5: 1775

Mr Strahan

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction. —
— You have begun to burn our Towns,
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of your Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my Ene-
my, — and

I am, Yours,

B Franklin

CHAPTER XL.

CONTINENTALISM AND THE DECLARATION

1775 June

The Continental Congress and army implied a wholly independent political organism, however men might shut their eyes to the fact and play at being in the old relations. As the colonies refused to act except in common and the British government refused to deal with them except individually, there was no basis even for discussing an agreement to come back into the fold: they must remain independent till beaten into dependence. By what steps the halting colonials were brought to recognize this fact, we have now to see.

Independence a fact

Tryon in New York

The evening of the same day that Washington crossed New York on his way to the new command, the new governor Tryon arrived there. He was excessively vain, violent, and ill-judging, and arrogantly contemptuous of the populace: the worst of combinations to harm English colonial interests, but he was in great favor with the King and his ministers as the type of "energetic" governors, who would stand no nonsense. He was just back from a conference with them, and announced the speedy concentration at New York of a powerful land and naval force. This caused double uneasiness, because the force would be likely to co-operate with the powerful Tory Johnson family

1775 June

(Sir William's successors) of the Mohawk valley, and their Highland retainers, and far worse, the Iroquois they swayed. In fact, Colonel Guy Johnson had already secured pledges of fidelity from most of the sachems, and laid the foundation for the frightful scenes of later on.

Johnsons and Iroquois

Washington took up his headquarters at Cambridge, in the famous Tory mansion since occupied by Longfellow. He found little to make him feel puffed up with his new honor, or even safe. Of his nominal 16,000 men, several thousand were unavailable from sickness, leave of absence, or other causes, and the great semicircle was too thin in most places to resist an assault; especially as the British, about 11,000 veteran troops, occupied its chord and could be massed quickly at any point. Since, next to Dorchester Heights which were not menaced, the most vital spot either for British defense or aggression was Charlestown peninsula, the greater part of their army had been transferred thither, and Howe was fortifying Bunker Hill. To bar an outward movement by them, Putnam had thrown up and occupied impregnable works on Prospect Hill. But the late battle had taught them—what but for their self-conceit and anger they would have known in advance—the murderous folly of assaults on intrenchments.

Washington at Cambridge

British occupy Bunker Hill

Luckily for us, it had also taught them a dread of American marksmanship even in the open field. Our army was in no condition for a pitched battle. The troops of each colony were under independent direction and rules, and could not act in concert.

American weakness

1775 June–August

There was neither order nor discipline; no one knew how many men were in the field; the soldiers came and went at pleasure, and sentinels slept at their posts. Greene's Rhode Island brigade was the one model organization which gladdened Washington's heart, and he believed in Greene unfailingly and justly thenceforward. There was no commissary department or regular system of supply; each colony sent the necessaries to its own troops in carts as they could be gathered.

Lack of organization

A much worse weakness was the short and endlessly varying terms of enlistment, due to the belief that some compromise would soon end the war, and the inability of most men to stay long from home unless their families were better provided for than was yet done. The terms were all petty, generally two months or so; sometimes men were enrolled by the towns, sometimes by the colonial governments. Numbers kept dropping out, and the officers had to spend a large part of their time filling the vacancies; in December the Connecticut troops left in a body on a question of bounties for re-enlistment, but the colony sent others.

Fluctuating enlistments

Worst of all was the old difficulty of powder. Undisciplined, straggling troops could be terrible foes, as the British mournfully knew—even ill-fed, half-frozen ones; but unarmed ones meant a walkover. At the time of Bunker Hill the whole army had but twenty-seven half-barrels of powder. Toward the last of August, Washington discovered with dismay that it was practically all gone: there was not enough on hand for more than nine rounds

Perilous lack of powder

1775 Aug.–Sept.

per man, and this so unevenly distributed that some regiments had but one or two. Lead was only less scarce, and so continued: later on, women gave their beloved pewter dishes to be hammered into slugs and ate off wooden trenchers, and men shot buttons, pebbles, hammered-up nails, anything for missiles. Washington dared not let this condition be known: it might start a panic in the army, and if the British knew it the results might be instantly fatal. It seems probable they did know it, through traitors, but feared it was a trap: they were taking no chances on American guns being empty.

Scarcity of ammunition

Washington sent urgent requests in all directions: no quantity, however small, was beneath forwarding. He urged the governor of Rhode Island to dispatch an armed vessel to Bermuda to capture a magazine there; one was actually sent to the coast of Africa on the same errand, but in this quarter the end was gained more easily, though in a way that makes us wince. Newport was a great seat of the slave trade, and of the trade in rum which was the chief agent in securing slaves; two swift vessels were loaded with it, and reaching the coast before the factors had heard of the war, exchanged the invaluable liquor for ammunition, which aided to drive the British out of Boston. Our cause is not the only good one which has been helped or saved by very grimy transactions. About mid-September, however, a moderate supply from the Jerseys brought safety.

Quests for powder

Obtained through slave trade

There was also treachery at work, and a not dishonorable temptation which always ended in treachery. Dr. Benjamin Church, one of the earliest, most zealous, and most trusted of the patriot leaders, knew all their secrets, and was found to have been sharing them with the British. He professed to be doing it as a spy for the patriot cause, but what he gave was too valuable for that excuse; he was thrown into prison, let go on a doubt, his influential connections, and failing health, sailed to the West Indies, and the vessel was lost. Much before this, almost as soon as he arrived in Boston and was given command of the left wing, that unprincipled adventurer Charles Lee was detected in secret negotiations with Burgoyne for "the restoration of peace." Neither of them had the least power to effect or affect it. But from first to last, American success seemed so incredible yet British success so fatal to its main object, strength through the colonies, that the dazzling vision of glory and honors for arranging a mutually grateful compromise floated before many an important man's eyes like a will-o'-the-wisp. What would not Great Britain give to him who brought the colonies in his pocket, and saved their being another Ireland to it? or they to him who saved them from political annihilation? Two entirely opposite types of men were especially affected by this: misguided patriots like Arnold, who hoped to better the colonial fortunes; and scoundrelly *condottieri* like Lee, who cared not what their fortunes were, who fished in all waters and had a fisherman's impartial lack of care which bank he fished from.

1775 June et seq.

Church turns traitor

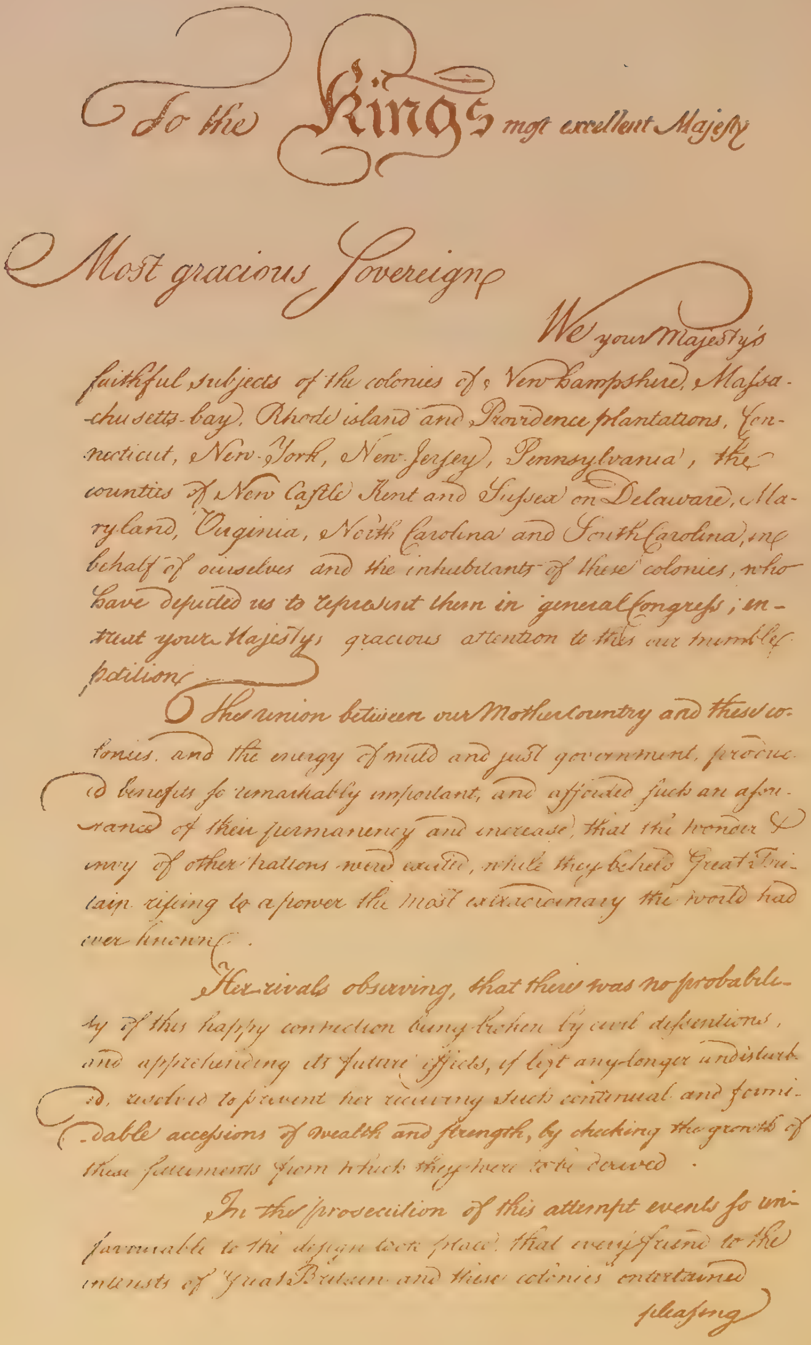
Lee intrigues with Burgoyne

Constant temptation

1775 July–Sept. The first gleam of better hopes was the arrival in July of the first contingent of troops from outside New England, a beginning toward making the army really continental. These were ten companies of riflemen from the mountain regions of **Riflemen** Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; so dreaded by the British that the latter outlawed them, by a proclamation that no one of them captured should be treated as a prisoner of war. The riflemen soon gained prisoners enough so that the British never dared to carry out the threat. One of their most prominent figures was Daniel Morgan, captain of **Daniel Morgan** a Virginia company he had enlisted: one of the ablest soldiers America has produced, a masterly tactician and inspiring leader; a Jerseyman by birth, of giant frame and the mild temper that often goes with it, but a ranger of romantic deeds and daring in the French and Indian War.

Washington at least was left by the British undisturbed to work out his hard problems, of keeping his army together, filling the ranks, getting ammunition and other supplies, and trying to **Washington's summer and autumn** establish decent discipline. He built fortifications and kept the enemy's supplies of fresh food cut off, and made a show of confidence which helped to daunt them from moving out; and as he had not yet artillery to drive them out, there was little dramatic in the operations. In September, Congress at his request, after an inspection by a special committee, voted an increase of the army to 23,000.

Harmonizing the theory of being loyal subjects with the fact of carrying on open war with Great



To the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty

Most gracious Sovereign

We your Majesty's faithful ſubjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Maſsachusetts-bay, Rhode island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Caſtle Kent and Suſsex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congreſs, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

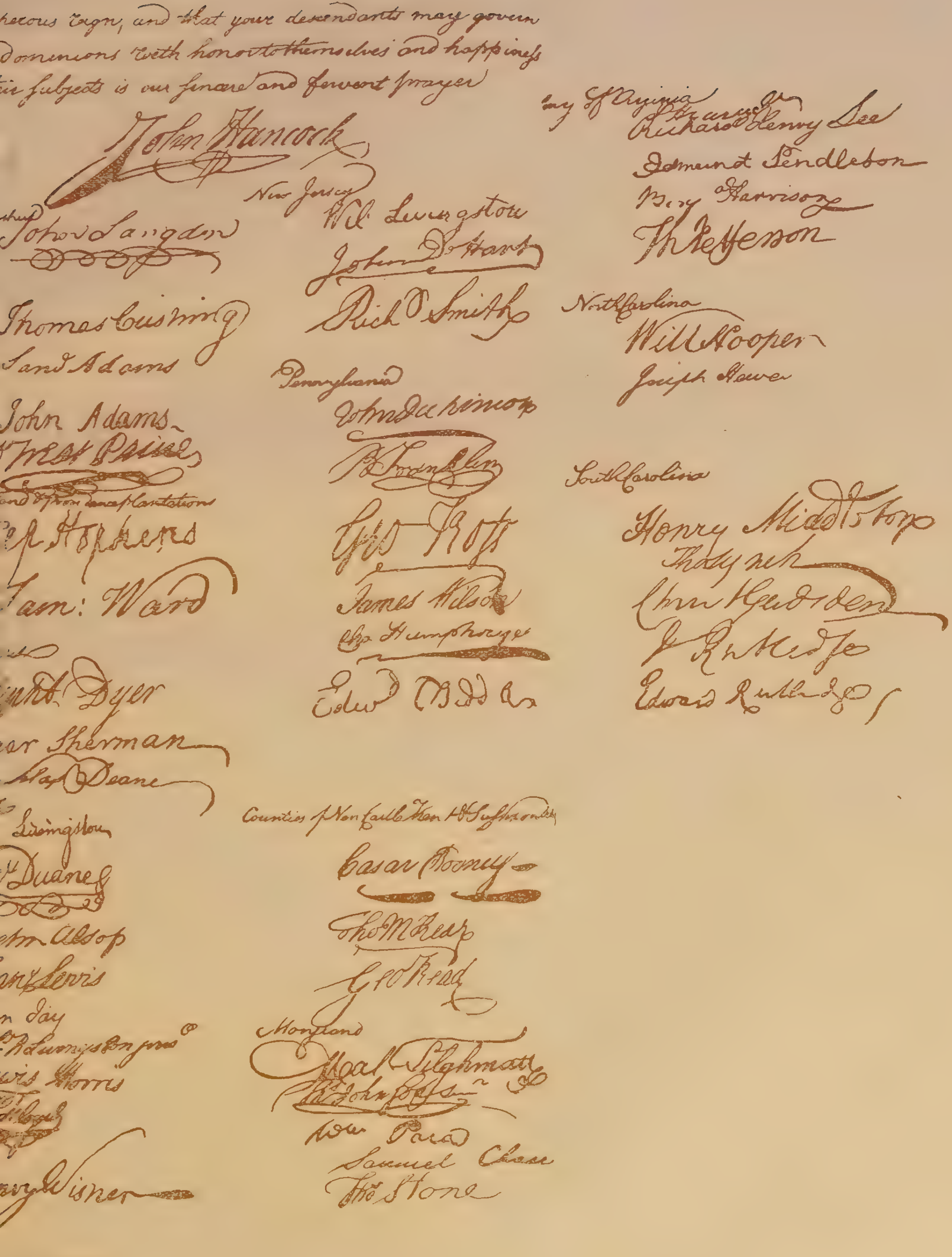
The union between our Mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and juſt government, produced benefits ſo remarkably important, and afforded ſuch an aſsurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder & envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain riſing to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals observing, that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil diſsentions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable acceſsions of wealth and ſtrength, by checking the growth of those ſettlements from which they were to be derived.

In the proſecution of this attempt events ſo unfavourable to the deſign took place, that every friend to the interests of Great Britain and these colonies entertained

pleaſing

OPENING AND CLOSE OF T
COLONIES TO GEORGE I
CONTINENTAL



hecous reign, and that your descendants may govern
dominions with honor to themselves and happiness
ir subjects is our sincere and fervent prayer

John Hancock

John Langdon

Thomas Cushing
Saml Adams
John Adams
Treat Paine

and & Providence Plantations
ep Hopkins
Sam: Ward

alt Dyer
er Sherman
Silas Deane

Livingston
s Duane
ohn Alsop
ans Lewis
n Jay
R Livingston junr
wis Morris
Floyd
ry Wisner

New Jersey
Wil: Livingston
John De Hart
Richd Smith

Pennsylvania
John Dickinson
B Franklin
Geo: Ross
James Wilson
Chas Humphreys
Edwd Biddle

Counties of New Castle Kent & Sussex on Delaware
Cæsar Rodney
Tho M:Kean
Geo Read

Maryland
Mat Tilghman
Th Johnson Junr
Wm Paca
Samuel Chase
Thos Stone

ny of Virginia
P Henry Jr
Richard Henry Lee
Edmund Pendleton
Benj Harrison
Th Jefferson

North Carolina
Will Hooper
Joseph Hewes

South Carolina
Henry Middleton
Thos Lynch
Chris Gadsden
J Rutledge
Edward Rutledge

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Britain grew harder day by day. Samuel Adams advocated an honest declaration of independence, as simply stating an obvious fact, and making operations much simpler and help more easily obtainable: Congress had actually done so in other words when it told Massachusetts to set up a new government on its own authority, and the latter in July had complied, with a proclamation wherein "God save the King" was replaced by "God save the people." Moreover, coincidently with the petition to the King, a currency issue was voted to carry on the war, $500,000 of which was sent to the army at Cambridge. But Congress did not dare break utterly with its supporters who still hoped for compromise, in fear of being disavowed and left in the air. It was quite right: even a year later the glaringly necessary move alienated some support still valuable. At present it must wait for express colonial instructions, and a plan of Franklin's for a confederated government was rejected.

1775 May–Aug.

Colonies acting as independent

As the petition to the King would be a farce if made from Congress jointly, since he would not recognize that body, the members from each colony signed for it separately; and to insure a favorable reception, it was presented by Richard Penn, a proprietary and warm loyalist. He arrived August 14, but the King peremptorily refused to see him or receive the petition: he would have nothing to do with the work of a joint colonial body—each must come alone. Parliament received it, however, and examined Penn, who told them truthfully that if taxation were insisted on, the

Petition to the King

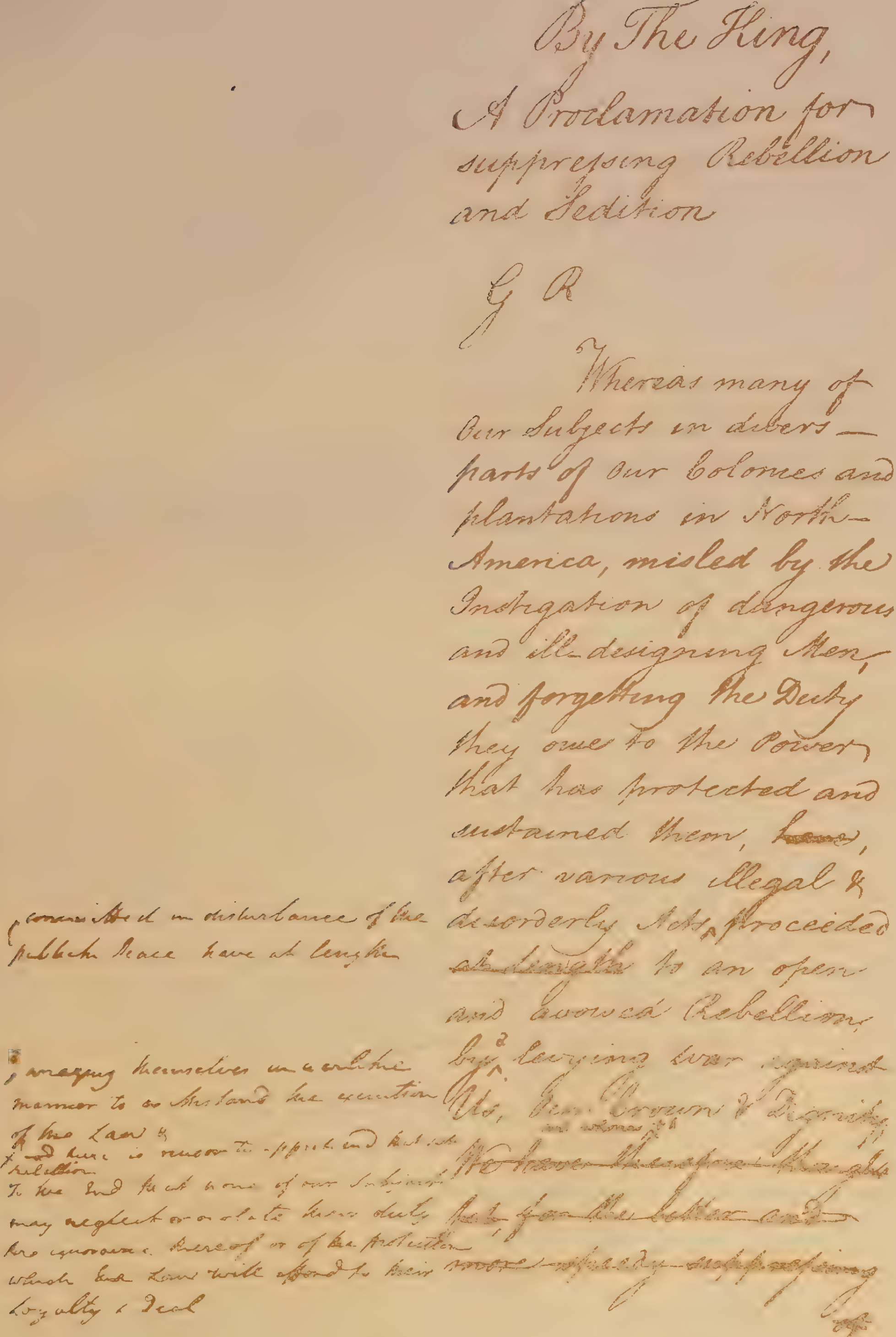
PROCLAMATION OF GEORGE III., IN ANSWER TO THE PETITION OF THE COLONIES.

First Draft with Alterations suggested by Solicitor-General Wedderburn.

(August 23, 1775.)

(Words in italics cancelled to make alterations in left-hand column. Italics in left-hand column, first correction cancelled to make way for what follows. □ indicates where marginal corrections are inserted.)

	By the King, A Proclamation for suppressing Rebellion and Sedition G R Whereas many of Our Subjects in divers parts of Our Colonies and plantations in North-America, misled by the Instigation of dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Duty they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, *have*, after various illegal &
committed in disturbance of the Publick Peace have at length	disorderly Acts □ proceeded *at length* to an open and avowed Rebellion,
arraying themselves in a warlike manner to withstand the execution of the law &	by □ levying war against Us, Our Crown & Dignity:
and whereas there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion	*We have therefore thought*
To the end that none of our Subjects may neglect or violate their duty thro' ignorance thereof or of the protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal	*fit, for the better and more speedy suppressing of*



By The King,

A Proclamation for suppressing Rebellion and Sedition

G R

Whereas many of Our Subjects in divers parts of Our Colonies and plantations in North America, misled by the Instigation of dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Duty they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, ~~have~~, after various illegal & disorderly Acts proceeded ~~at length~~ to an open and avowed Rebellion, by levying War against Us, Our Crown & Dignity, ~~We have therefore thought fit, for the better and more speedy suppressing~~ of

committed in disturbance of the publick Peace have at length

arraying themselves in a hostile manner to withstand the execution of the Law &

and there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion

To the End that none of our Subjects may neglect or violate their duty thro ignorance thereof or of the protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty & Zeal

FIRST DRAFT AND ALTERATIONS OF GEORGE III.'S PROCLAMATION.

1776

The German mercenaries

first consignment of 17,526, whence the whole were currently termed Hessians. The Duke of Brunswick supplied 4,084. The first lot sailed early in 1776; new ones from time to time, as death, disablement, and desertion thinned the ranks. The troops were of the foremost quality, largely veterans of Frederick's wars; and their four chief commanders—Donop, Knyphausen, and Von Heister from the Hesses, Riedesel from Brunswick—were excellent officers.

General disgust

Results in America

The transaction was of evil omen, and cost England more in good-will than it gained in victories. Despite all excuses, it tasted badly in most mouths everywhere. We have heard Catherine's opinion of it. The mass of Germans were indignant and ashamed; even Frederick was disgusted, and ordered his customs officers to collect toll from the troops as "cattle for butchery" if they passed through Prussia. At home, the opposition in Parliament denounced it as barbarous, degrading, and making reconciliation impossible, and as even dangerous from the likelihood that the Germans might fraternize with their revolted colonial brethren. The ministerialists defended it as necessity and economy: there was not time to fill the army with recruits, and hired troops would come cheaper in the end, as they could claim no half-pay. In America, the measure and its results did more than any other one act to break the last tie: the "Hessian hirelings" were a rankling and unforgivable affront to national decency, and their outrages in New Jersey broke the back of loyalism.

1775 Autumn

American petition answered

The news of the King's answer to the colonies' petition reached Congress the last of October. It was such as George III. and his ministers always made to the petitioners for human rights. They were insulted and spurned; their respectful petition was treated with contempt: they must disband their army and submit without conditions. By a grim coincidence, a practical corollary reached them the same day: news of the deliberate burning of Falmouth (Portland), Maine, by a British captain, for refusing to furnish provisions and in personal revenge. The fact that months afterward they learned, if they cared, that the government disavowed the act, is irrelevant. Other towns were bombarded on the same pretext. The King's offensive and tyrannical answer and his subordinates' brutality brought the day of independence nearer. "Well, brother rebel, we have our answer," said a Southern supporter of the petition: "I want nothing more: I am ready to declare ourselves independent." It is a singular instance of the tenacity of human associations that it took eight months longer to bring about a formal sundering of the tie. But the measures taken were of necessity pretty much the same as if it had been done. New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Virginia were authorized to form new governments like Massachusetts; to satisfy the moderates, these governments were to be only provisional, until reconcilement with the mother country. South Carolina was advised to seize the British shipping in its waters. Franklin, Dickinson, Jay, and others were

Portland burnt

Effect of both

Independence advances

appointed a secret committee of foreign correspondence, to arrange for help. Active measures were taken to create a navy (see a later chapter) and revive American commerce, especially to import powder, ball, and cannon.

1775 Autumn

The colonies from the start were placed in a most embarrassing and inconsistent position, obliged to make war or lose their liberties even while they sought to retain them by English permission. Nothing shows this better than the fact that at this very time one of their armies was in the heart of Canada, and another on the way thither. During the summer it was learned that Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, purposed an expedition to recover Ticonderoga, and that the Johnsons were to co-operate by bringing the horrors of an Indian war down on the New York and New England frontiers. This must be forestalled by giving the enemy enough to do at home; and Schuyler was charged with an expedition down Champlain and the Sorel to Quebec, still in hope of a Canadian rising and alliance.

Incoherent necessities

Carleton to invade New York

Forestalled

Ill-health obliged him, after an ineffectual attempt on St. John's (now reoccupied by the British with a garrison of 900 men), to turn the command over to the splendid and noble Irish soldier Richard Montgomery; who invested it with 2000 men, and after a fifty days' siege compelled it to surrender, November 3. In a harebrained individual expedition against Montreal during this time, Ethan Allen was captured. Fort Chambly, ten miles north, was also taken. Montreal was

Schuyler and Montgomery

Ethan Allen taken

1775 Autumn

Montgomery tries to raise Canada

next invested, and on the 12th forced to capitulate. Montgomery at once issued an address beseeching the Canadians to choose delegates to the Continental Congress without delay. Leaving garrisons in the conquered towns, he proceeded with his regiment, now reduced to 300 men, against Quebec.

Arnold's heroic march

This stronghold was already threatened from another quarter. Colonel Benedict Arnold had strongly urged an invasion by way of Maine and the Kennebec, and the water-shed that divides its sources from those of the Canadian Chaudière. Washington acceded, and gave him a thousand infantry and three companies of riflemen, one of them Daniel Morgan's. The march was one of untold hardship and suffering, one of the most heroic ever performed on American soil; and but for Arnold's dauntless courage the troops would have flinched and returned before it was half-way, —as two hundred did, with the bulk of his provisions and without notice to him. When boating ended even through the shoals and foaming rapids, they carried the boats and forced a passage through the underbrush. Their feet and bodies were bleeding from stones and thorns and briers. Winter was coming on, with raw piercing rains; they had to wade through half-frozen bogs and ponds, and they had no food. The daring leader pressed on in the hope of gathering supplies from some unguarded French village. Before his return the famishing soldiers had killed and devoured every dog that could be found; then the brave fellows gnawed the roots of trees and ate their moose-skin

Terrible suffering

1775 Closing weeks

moccasins until Arnold's return. When at last they came to the Chaudière, and could take to their boats and find cattle and other food, two hundred had died of hardship.

Arnold at Quebec

With his few hundred remaining troops, Arnold on the day after the surrender of Montreal climbed the Plains of Abraham, as Wolfe had done sixteen years previously, and offered battle. But the English garrison of Quebec remained in their fortifications, awaiting an assault. Arnold had not troops enough to venture it; he withdrew to Point aux Tremblès, twenty miles up the river, and awaited the approach of Montgomery. The latter on arrival assumed command of the whole force, which did not exceed 1200 effective men. Quebec was defended by greatly superior numbers, well fortified and warmly quartered. For four weeks, with his handful, Montgomery besieged the town; then, relying only on the valor of his men, he determined to stake everything on an assault.

Montgomery besieges it

Attempt to storm it

It was the last day of December, 1775. Before daybreak the little army was divided into four columns. The first division, under Montgomery, was to pass down the St. Lawrence and attack the Lower Town near the citadel. The second column, led by Arnold, was to sweep around to the north, attack by way of the St. Charles, and join Montgomery to storm the Prescott Gate. The other two divisions were to remain in the rear of the Upper Town, making feigned attacks to draw the attention of the garrison. Montgomery's column reached the point from which the charge was to

1775–6

Assault on Quebec

begin. A battery lay just before, and it was thought that the gunners had not discovered the assailants. "Men of New York," said the brave Montgomery, "you will not fear to follow where your general leads! Forward!" There were masses of ice and clouds of blinding snow, and broken ground and the cold gray light of morning. As the Americans were rushing forward, all of a sudden the battery burst forth with a storm of grape-shot. At the first discharge Montgomery and both of his aides fell dead. The column was shattered. The men lost heart at the death of their beloved general. They wavered, fell back, and returned to Wolfe's Cove, above the city.

Montgomery killed

Arnold, ignorant of what had happened, fought his way into the Lower Town on the north. While leading the charge he was severely wounded and borne to the rear. Morgan, who succeeded him, led his brave band farther along the narrow and dangerous streets until overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold retired with his broken remnant to a point three miles above the city.

Morgan captured

Reinforcements soon began to arrive; but the small-pox broke out in the camp,—the noble old general John Thomas died of it,—and active operations could not be resumed. As soon as the ice disappeared from the St. Lawrence, Quebec was strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops from England. Governor Carleton now began offensive movements; the Americans fell back from post to post,—"disgraced, defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, eaten up with vermin, no clothes,

Carleton drives out Americans

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

1776 Spring

beds, blankets, nor medicines,'' and scant rations of scurvy-breeding food, as John Adams said. By mid-June Canada was entirely evacuated.

Canada lost

But the loss of our hopes in Canada was compensated by the full redemption of New England. Gage's military reputation had been ruined by Lexington and Bunker Hill; and he had been recalled ''for consultation'' and his command given to Howe. Nothing could have been happier for the besieging army. Howe, it is true, was brave, able, and resolute. But he was lazy; he was utterly opposed to a New England campaign, and only wanted to remain in peace at Boston till spring allowed one elsewhere; and he represented a powerful family of English Liberals, which did not wish sweeping victories to strengthen the royal reactionism at home, but like so many Democrats during our Civil War, only enough to force a compromise on both parties. His plan was to occupy the centre of the new union with irresistible force, without needless bloodshed, and convince it of the hopelessness of resistance while his party extorted just concessions from the ministry.

Sir William Howe

Political policy

For all these reasons, Washington's strategic moves met no counterplay; and Howe did not even trouble himself to fortify Dorchester Heights, which commanded the city. It was not worth while to make his position impregnable; though he did not wish to be driven out till he was ready, and near the last he had a detachment destroy the buildings on the heights that might shelter troops. In November, Dartmouth—superseded as colonial

Why he neglected Dorchester Heights

1775-6

secretary by a harsh narrow uncompromising Tory, Lord George Germain, but still in the government—advised him to evacuate the city; but he professed a lack of shipping. He probably did not care to spend a month of discomfort hunting up new winter quarters; but he meant to go in the spring.

Howe's intentions

Washington could not afford to let him take his time, and the moral effect of expelling him by force would be enormous. The people were growing very impatient that their army was accomplishing nothing. Many urged the burning of Boston; and Hancock, a large owner in it, cordially assented. Washington had a better plan: it was not well to set the example of burning American cities. But he lacked siege guns. With an energy and resource akin to Arnold's, Henry Knox (a Boston bookbinder, Gridley's successor as chief of artillery, later Secretary of War) hurried to Ticonderoga and Crown Point in the snow and ice, built forty-two sledges, loaded on them forty-five mortars and heavy cannon and a quantity of lead and flints, and by the end of December was back in Cambridge.

Washington's

Knox brings artillery

Washington planned to send troops across the Back Bay on the ice and assault the British works; but a mild January and February interfered with the scheme. He now resolved to make the city untenable by seizing Dorchester Heights, and threatening a bombardment. This time the works should neither be stormed nor flanked; and he had a further security. Putnam had constructed very strong

Washington's plan

SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1776 March

intrenchments at Cobble Hill, not far outside Charlestown Neck, and 4000 picked men under Greene and Sullivan were gathered there ready to pounce on Boston if Howe weakened his garrison to assault Dorchester Heights.

Skillful stratagems

Washington's design was kept a profound secret except from two or three of the principal officers intrusted with its direction. For three nights, March 2-4, a severe cannonade was kept up from both northern and southern batteries; this was more than a mere feint, as it was intended to draw the fire of the British batteries and ascertain their location and range, in case an assault was decided upon. On the third, a bright moonlight evening, Thomas led to the heights 1200 men with intrenching tools, and hundreds of carts laden with hay-bales, fascines, hurdles, and sharpened apple-tree trunks for abatis. Part of the bales were piled along the road to screen the procession from British watchers; the rumbling of the wheels was deadened with wisps; and a north wind aided by blowing all sounds the other way. A long train of artillery followed; 800 soldiers stood guard opposite Boston and Castle Island.

Secret intrenchment

Works on Dorchester Heights

When morning dawned,—the anniversary of the Boston Massacre,—the British could hardly trust their senses. Two strong redoubts loomed up on the heights, with cannon mounted and the Americans in force. "It must have been the employment of at least 12,000 men," wrote Howe to Dartmouth. He knew well that he must dislodge the Americans or abandon Boston at once; and

1776 March

put Percy at the head of 2400 men, to cross the narrow arm of the bay from Castle Island, and carry the works before nightfall. Washington, noting this concentration at the island, hurried forward 2000 men to the support of Thomas: the mistake at Bunker Hill should not be repeated; Percy would find the works manned by a force more than a third larger than his own, with artillery and abundant ammunition. Washington himself repaired to the intrenchments.

Dorchester Heights to be stormed

But there was no battle. Not a British officer wished to storm any more American intrenchments; and while Percy delayed, a violent storm arose and made the harbor impassable for the next two days. When it ceased, the Continental works had been so strengthened that they were beyond even attempting; and other intrenchments had been thrown up on Nook's Hill, still nearer Boston. To take them even if possible would require the entire army, leaving him no force to oppose the troops on the north. He was in a trap, with not even the sea for an escape, as Washington's heavy artillery could sink his ships before they could reach a place of safety. Some arrangement was necessary if fleet and army were not to surrender, and Howe drew the line at personal humiliation. He therefore announced his resolve to evacuate Boston, but to burn it if molested in the process. The Loyalists begged him to spare it, and he agreed to do so if Washington would allow the forces to depart in peace. There could be no doubt of the answer: the result of a desperate

Plan given up

Howe resolves to evacuate

battle was uncertain and the cost was terribly certain.

1776 March

An attempted embarkation on the 15th was prevented by a violent wind; finally, on Sunday the 17th of March, 1776, the British forces were embarked on the fleet and sailed down the harbor and off to Halifax. With them went nearly a thousand Loyalists, whose property was confiscated; three times that number had asked and intended to go, but the rest blenched at the last moment, and wisely remained in their fatherland. The admiral seemed so loth to go, delaying at Nantasket, that it was feared he was waiting for reinforcements to return and attack the city. In fact, five of the ships did remain, soon joined by a number of transports filled with Highlanders, and the last did not leave Nantasket until driven away in June.

Howe evacuates Boston

Washington entered Boston on the 20th in triumph. Never was a triumph more brilliant or purer. New England had been at once and permanently cleared of the enemy, and left as an untouched and unreachable source of supply for the rest of the country, with the loss of but twenty lives and very little destruction of property. Not only so, but Howe had not been able to take nearly all his stores with him; and there fell into our hands a great store of the priceless powder, oil and coal, horses and provender, and 250 pieces of cannon besides four mortars.

Splendid results

The grinding humiliation to the British may be conceived. Boston, as the Duke of Manchester said in the House of Lords, was "the first object

British mortification

1775–6

British chagrin over Boston

of the war, the immediate cause of hostilities," selected for chastisement by "a chosen army, with chosen officers, backed by a mighty fleet"; these had "for many tedious months been imprisoned within that town," and were now forced to fly and leave their best munitions behind. There was more than this. Boston had been hated and scorned by the British ruling classes for a hundred and forty years: it had irritated their religion, defied their mandates, driven out or mobbed their officials, trampled on their pride; they felt toward it something as the mediæval princes did toward the great free cities; they would gladly have razed and left it to the wilderness. To let it go not only without punishment, but in exultation over ejecting them, was bitter indeed.

North's American embargo

Months before, the colonies had been specifically outlawed. North on November 20 brought in a bill to reduce them by entire embargo on all trade and intercourse till they yielded. All American shipping and cargoes, and all of other nations trading thither, were to be lawful prize of English war-ships; and all captured American seamen who refused to serve against their countrymen were to be hanged as mutineers. But the King might send commissioners with plenary powers, to withdraw the embargo from any colony "or part of a colony" which would return to its allegiance. Fox said the bill should be styled "An Act for more effectually carrying into execution the Resolves of Congress," as this general confiscation and proscription would drive even the loyal to rebellion.

1775–6

Lee and Rhode Island Tories

Many of the commercial cities, however, had a strong mercantile loyalist faction: if trade throve on smuggling, it would be ruined by war, and on the whole the trading interest was anti-revolutionist. A British squadron off Newport attempted to strike hands with its sympathizers there: Lee was sent from Boston on requisition of the Rhode Island authorities to stop it. He remained two days, forced the disaffected to take an iron-clad oath (drawn up by himself) of allegiance to Congress, and put in irons three who would not; while the Assembly enacted an oath and confiscation on all who held communication with the British—but had to allow its violation to save the town from bombardment.

And New York Tories

Schuyler suppresses Johnsons

Lee then went on to New York, where Tryon on board an English war-ship was encouraging the Tories to revolt, and the militia were dubious. Volunteers were raised in Connecticut; Tryon threatened to bombard the city if they entered it, and the Provincial Congress tried to have Lee call them off. But he persisted, and planted a series of redoubts to guard Manhattan Island and the Hudson, while New Jersey troops disarmed the Long Island Tories and arrested some. A far more frightful danger impended. Sir John Johnson had gathered his tenants and savage followers at his fortified stone mansion of Johnson Hall, and the fate of the settlements in the Mohawk Valley could not be doubted. Schuyler hastened from Albany, and with the militia under Colonel Herkimer, surrounded the place on the night of

1775–6

January 19, and forced its surrender with arms and stores. Sir John and his officers were released on parole; but he was accused of breaking faith by intrigues, and escaped fresh seizure by flight to Canada. His immense estates were confiscated and sold. From his dispossessed tenants, and others deprived and expelled, he raised the "Royal Greens" of bloody memory.

The Johnsons and savages

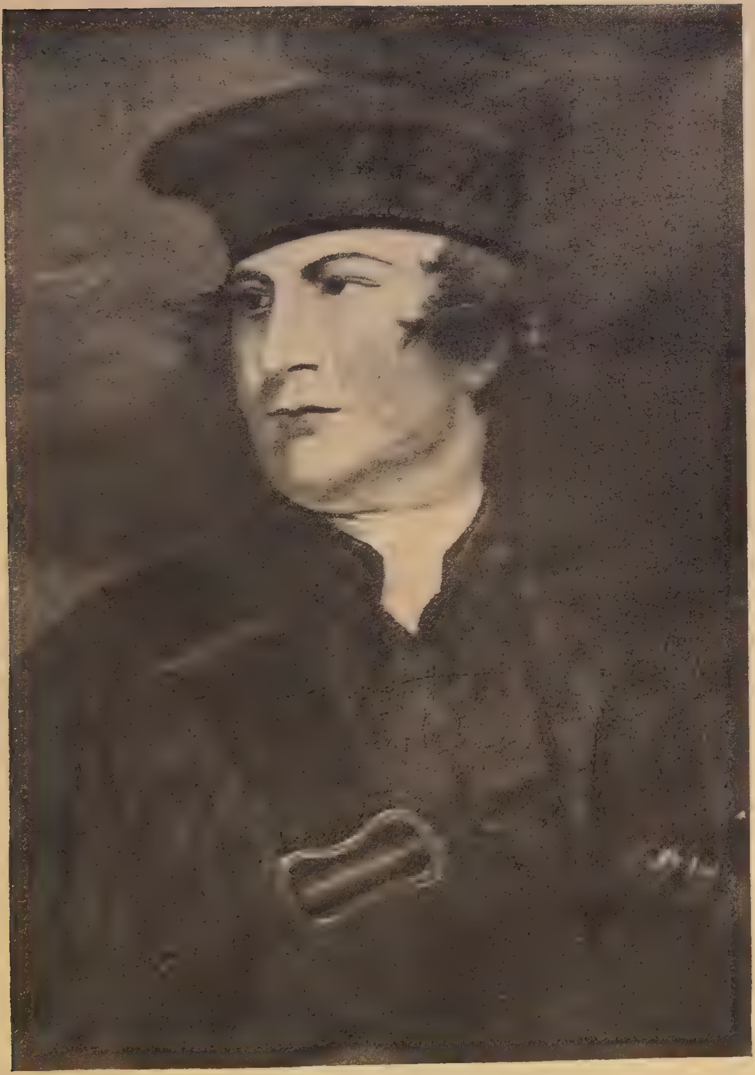
Meanwhile determining events had been taking place in the South. Dunmore after flying from his Virginia governorship, crazy with spite and revengefulness, was cruising up and down the coast in a man-of-war, supported by a considerable fleet, ravaging and burning towns and plantations. About the end of September one of the vessels ran aground at Hampton Roads, and was plundered and burnt by the people. Captain Squires with six tenders came up and cannonaded the town, and sent a party in boats to burn it; but they were driven off by the local riflemen, and the next day Captain William Woodford and a hundred Culpeper County minute-men came to the rescue. The fleet ranged nearer and opened a terrific bombardment; but so deadly was the American fire that the vessels were almost absolutely dismanned and could not be handled. Two drifted ashore and were captured, and three were sunk.

Dunmore's piratical ravages

Fleet destroyed

Then the insensate fool, appointed of God to ruin any cause he espoused, with but a few regular troops at his back placed the whole province under martial law; ordered every able-bodied male to repair to his standard under pain of death and

Makes ferocious war



LORD DUNMORE.

forfeiture; and offered freedom to all slaves and indented white servants who would enlist, to "oblige the rebels to disperse in order to take care of their families and property." Out of the slaves, "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian regiment" was organized, equipped, and drilled; and a number of worthless whites were enrolled. This scheme was believed to be, as it probably was, in co-operation with one for an Indian rising; and by exquisite political tact, the one alienated the lowland planters and the other the westerners. Most of the white population were hot with wrath.

1775 Autumn

Dunmore creates slave regiment

Dunmore was ravaging Princess Anne and Norfolk counties; their militia were joined by Woodford and his, and advanced on him; he retreated to Norfolk and fortified it. There also he enrolled a large number of Tories, mainly Scotch traders and their Scotch hands,—recent and hotly royalist settlers, outside colonial politics and not endangered by Dunmore's atrocities,—who had already made it so hot for the patriots that many had left it. This city of about 9000 people, the commercial head of Virginia, was too important to leave in the hands of the foe; and Colonel Robert Howe of North Carolina with a regiment of Continentals was ordered to capture it. But meantime the Virginians were determined to break up this focus of a civil war on the Indian level—turning black and red savages loose to destroy civilization in order to restore loyalty.

Fortifies Norfolk

Dunmore, hearing of this, seized and fortified Great Bridge over the Elizabeth River, some miles

1775-6

south, the sole approach. Woodford and his force arrived and threw up a redoubt on the opposite bank. On December 9 Dunmore sent a force of regulars to capture it. After a fifteen-minute Bunker Hill, in which the British lost 61 killed and wounded and the Virginians had but one man even slightly hurt, the remnant and the bridge guard fled to Norfolk. Dunmore five days later abandoned it to Woodford, Howe's Continentals arriving next day; and once more took to his fleet. He remained close off shore waiting for reinforcements and revenge, though his crews were picked off by sharpshooters from the houses, small-pox and scurvy stalked through the fleet, and foraging parties sent on shore were cut off or deserted. His constancy almost dignifies his spite.

Dunmore driven from Norfolk

Late in December a frigate from London arrived; and he instantly sent orders to Howe to stop the firing on his ships and send provisions on board, under penalty of bombardment. He was flatly refused; and on New Year's Day not only bombarded it with hot shells, but under cover of this, sent a party of marines ashore to fire the buildings on the wharves. The wooden town was speedily aflame; but for two days and nights the bombardment continued to make sure of entire destruction. A party of Culpeper men, however, remained in the city to repulse the landing parties, and protect the women and children, whom they removed to places of safety in the midwinter cold. They then burned a few buildings which had escaped, to prevent the enemy from using them as

Burns it

1776

shelter, and departed. Norfolk was wiped out of existence.

Dunmore's last ravages

Dunmore reoccupied and garrisoned the site; but all food was kept from reaching the garrison, and they were obliged to abandon it. The governor destroyed the works, and established an intrenched camp on Guynn Island, below the mouth of the Rappahannock, where he carried on raids as before. In July 1776 General Andrew Lewis with a brigade of Virginians and a fleet of small boats broke up his camp, and forced him to burn several vessels to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Americans. With the rest he sailed up the Potomac as far as Aquia Creek, burning and looting; after which he returned to Lynn Haven Bay, disbanded his fleet, and with his flag-ship gave his invaluable services to the British naval forces at New York. The remainder of the ships sailed for the West Indies and sold their negro allies into slavery to the Spaniards.

Moore's Creek

Highlanders in North Carolina

Meantime one of the deciding battles of the war, the Lexington of the South, had been fought in North Carolina. After the overthrow of the Young Pretender at Culloden in 1745, his bulwark Scotland had been reorganized and the clans broken up; and great numbers, especially of the Macdonalds and Macleods, had migrated to their brethren in the Carolinas and Georgia. The romantic heroine Flora Macdonald was herself living at Kingsborough. These Scotch were very clannish and very monarchic, and little interested in the older planters' politics. Those formidable

1776 Jan.–March

fighters and fanatic loyalists, if supported by a strong British force, would not only secure North Carolina firmly, but aid in holding down South Carolina and Virginia as well. Negotiations were carried on with them and the Regulators through Martin, the deposed royal governor; and 1600 men including Flora's husband Allan Macdonald were raised under Donald Macdonald, his kinsman.

Scotch Tory force raised

Sir Henry Clinton took 2000 men from Howe's useless Boston force in January, and sailed for Cape Fear River; where Sir Peter Parker from Ireland, with ten war-ships and seven regiments, was to meet him and Macdonald's band. Late in February the latter started for Wilmington. Colonel James Moore came up thence to oppose it, with about 1000 Continentals and militia. Macdonald ordered him to join the royal standard. Moore replied by ordering him to sign the patriot Association. Macdonald without replying hurried toward Wilmington. Moore pursued, and also reinforced Colonel Richard Caswell from Newbern, who held the bridge at Moore's Creek that barred the Wilmington road. On February 27 Macdonald reached and charged it; but his second Macleod was killed at the first fire, and the chief-worshiping clansmen took panic and fled. Moore was just behind, and 900 of them were captured, with the commander and Allan, 2000 stand of arms, and £15,000 in gold. All patriot North Carolina sprang to arms, 10,000 being in camp in a few days; and Clinton did not dare to land, while Parker had not arrived. A Provincial Congress

British to join them

Battle of Moore's Creek

was at once called, and instructed its delegates to declare for "independency and foreign alliance."

1776 Jan.–March

South Carolina in the same month, March, by permission of Congress formed a new government. Georgia in January had deposed its governor Sir James Wright, who fled to the fleet off Savannah; and chose an executive council in his stead. Both colonies instructed their Congressional delegates to join in any measure for the common welfare—that is, independence if the rest thought best.

South Carolina and Georgia

How indeed could this long warfare, united sacrifice, victory,—the whole land given over to the two tasks of driving out Great Britain's armies and forever dismantling her colonial governments, that country set on ending rebellion once for all,—go on with any thought that the vanished colonial world could be restored; the colonies once again split up and go back to nothingness and helplessness? It seems so incredible that some historians sneer at the continued professions of loyalty as sheer hypocrisy; others talk of New England forcing the hand of the rest. Those who remember the sincere attempts at "conciliation" far into the Civil War will not adopt the one view; and both result from not keeping in view the succession of events.

Were the colonists hypocrites?

War came to the actual door of different sections at different times, and changed their views as to reconcilement: while raging only in a far-off colony it did not bring a sharp realization of facts as at home. It began in New England, and there

True explanation

1775-6

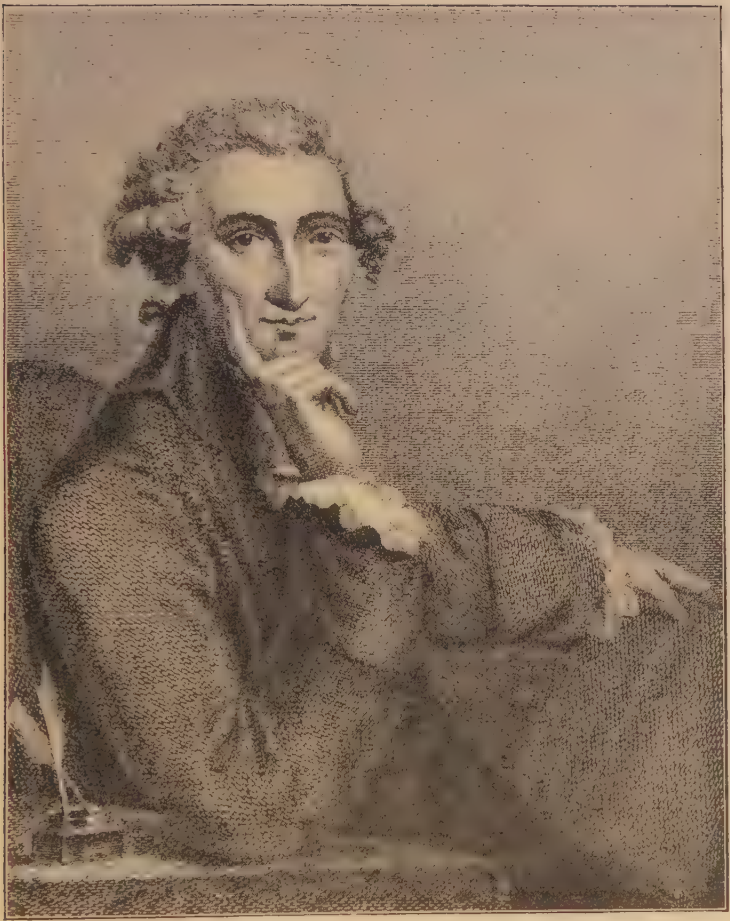
was early seen to involve independence. The southern colonies still thought the difficulty might be accommodated, till the war touched their own borders in the winter and spring of 1775-76, when they were promptly converted, and the more fully as the British resolve to take no half-submission grew plainer. The middle colonies were not even brushed by the war till after the Declaration, and they fought it to the last. Parker's fleet appeared off Cape Fear in May 1776: Virginia declared for independence within a fortnight, and Maryland in a few weeks. The New York delegation on July 2-4 refused to vote at all, for lack of authority; but a New York convention ratified the Declaration a week after Howe's arrival at Staten Island.

What converted colonies from loyalism

This of course refers to the colonies as bodies, not to all their leaders: many of these were as ardent and as far-sighted as Samuel Adams himself. Pennsylvania was slow to take such a resolve, from the nature of its population. The two leading factors were Quakers who believed all fighting wrong (though in practice they modified this greatly, many fought and more paid generously for supplies), and from historical causes had a kindlier feeling for royal governments than for colonial mobs; and Germans, largely kept apart from the community's thoughts and feelings by their language. But Franklin, Mifflin, Rush, and others needed no war on the Delaware to see what New England saw; and their ablest literary ally, in January 1776, struck a tremendous blow which carried forward the cause with a leap.

Pennsylvania feeling

Patriot leaders



THOMAS PAINE.

1774–6

Thomas Paine

Thomas Paine had come over from England in December 1774 at the invitation of Franklin, who gained him the editorship of the *Pennsylvania Magazine.* He was an English Voltairian deist and revolutionist, with the narrow intensity that goes with the type; he hated churches as organs of "priestcraft," and governments as engines of tyranny. As a pamphleteer, he was one of the most effective and influential of the age. He was never far above the average mind, his thinking often crude and his facts often wild like its own; he was keen, penetrating, practical, full of common-sense on the point at hand; his style ranged from vulgar scurrility to the best heights of Junius, but always concise, often caustic, with great power of making winged epigrammatic sentences that stuck in the mind. His *Common Sense* appeared while one invading British army was in its ninth month of imprisonment by a joint colonial army, and others were notoriously gathering to invade two other sections; British fleets were laying our coast cities in ashes, and Parliament had proclaimed us foreign enemies and outlaws; nearly every royal governor was expelled or had withdrawn, the rest were stripped of all authority, two were inciting slaves or savages against their own provinces, one was ravaging his like a pirate in a fury of revenge. The pamphlet showed conclusively that restoring the old relations was impossible for either side, and that not men's choice but glaring events made independence a reality then and there; and urged an acceptance

His "Common Sense"

Unanswerable arguments

1776

of the fact as the only dignified course and the only road to success. Over 100,000 copies were sold; Washington read it at the head of his army; the unemotional Pennsylvania Assembly voted Paine $2500 for it. Its arguments were accepted everywhere—partly because they were true, and partly because men were glad to have arguable reasons for what they had already resolved on.

Enormous success of "Common Sense"

In March Congress advised the colonies to disarm all who refused to contribute to the common defense. This was in connection with the two great steps which not only implied, but were in themselves, independence. The British naval ravages on the coast, their seizure of every American vessel found afloat, the barbarous edict for impressment and hanging, and the American efforts at a navy in reprisal, could have but one conclusion. Congress on March 2 proclaimed the American ports open to all nations, thus abolishing by its own authority the British navigation laws; issued letters of marque, and declared all British vessels whatever lawful prize; and a little later enacted commercial laws of its own. Meantime it had sent Silas Deane to France as diplomatic agent. As Franklin said, this was exercising full sovereignty: only independent nations dictate their own trade laws, make prizes in sea-war, and send out ministers.

Decisive action of Congress

But Congress dared not risk disavowal by any colony, and too many had not spoken out; and the keystone middle colonies were most reluctant of all. The Pennsylvania Assembly had instructed

Still hesitates

1775–6

its delegates in November to "utterly reject any proposition" for "a separation from our mother country, or a change in the form of this government"; and in April refused to recall the instructions. That of New Jersey gave the same kind, but said it thought the reports of "sentiments of independency" were groundless, and resolved to send a separate petition to the King. On the remonstrances of a committee of Congress against this disunionist performance, it withdrew the resolution; Franklin prorogued it, and a Provincial Congress was at once elected in its place, but the fight was not over. New York's delegates were still hoping for a favorable answer to their petitions; its Provincial Congress dared not act without a special election on that issue.

Middle colonies reluctant

But Great Britain, as Fox had said, was carrying out the patriots' most extreme ideas for them. North Carolina was for independence, South Carolina and Georgia would do what the rest agreed on. Rhode Island on May 4 made the same engagement, and omitted the King's name from the writs: it was already a popular government and needed no other change. The other New England colonies were not feared. And now the greatest of the colonies came to the forefront, fully cured of hesitancy by Dunmore. On May 6 Virginia held a special convention to consider the subject; on the 15th it unanimously instructed its delegates to propose to Congress "to declare the United Colonies free and independent States," and agree "to form foreign alliances and a confederation,"

South Carolina and Rhode Island safe

Virginia for independence

1776 May–June

and appointed a committee to draw up a bill of rights and a frame of government.

Some days before, Congress had recommended all the colonies which had not yet done so, to establish adequate governments; and on the 15th John Adams moved that "all oaths for the support of the government under the Crown of Great Britain were irreconcilable with reason and good conscience," and that its authority should be superseded by that of the people of the colonies. This of course only left a formal document to be drafted; and it was hotly contested, by some from hopeful loyalty, by others from caution. It was carried; but the chopping seas of colonial feeling justified the cautious. A public meeting in Philadelphia protested against the Assembly taking up the matter; the Maryland convention voted that the Crown's authority need not be suppressed; outside of New England the verdict seemed still uncertain. But the news from Virginia lifted a weight from them. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee for his delegation moved that the colonies were "free and independent States," "absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown," and severed from "all political connection" with Great Britain; that foreign alliances should be formed; and "that a plan of confederation be prepared."

John Adams' crucial motion

Colonial feeling uncertain

R. H. Lee's motion for independence

This epoch-making proposal was carried next day by only seven (colonies) to six: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland had expressly instructed against it; the New York, Delaware, and South Carolina delegations were uncertain of

Just carried

1776 May–June

the colonies' wishes, though the last-named were left to their judgment. The debate cannot have changed any votes; but it was an index of the contending opinions outside. Many sound patriots opposed it not as bad, but as premature, and without sufficient guaranties of the advantages on whose hope it was based. The upholders said that without it France and Spain would not accept us as allies; the critics said that they would be much more likely in any event to bargain with England for giving Canada and Florida back as the price of alliance against us, for Catholic powers could not wish a great new Protestant state founded. As a fact national hates and ambitions ruled entirely, and religion played no part whatever.

Debate on Lee's motion

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston were appointed a committee to draw up a formal declaration of independence; but on Rutledge's motion the main question was laid over till July 1, for favorable instructions from the seven colonies which had given none or given adverse ones. Within a week three had responded yes,—Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Delaware; the first, having no need of a new government, merely dropped the King's name from official documents. A week later, the 22d, New Jersey followed, and the forming of a new government was also voted. Two days afterward saw Pennsylvania in line. On May 20 a huge mass-meeting in the state-house had unanimously condemned the Assembly's instructions as tending "to withdraw this province

Waiting for colonial action

Five colonies more act

1776 May–June

from that happy union . . . both our glory and our protection.'' This led to a convention which likewise framed a new government. Last of all, on the 28th Maryland joined the ranks. By Eden's influence, as late as May 21 it had protested against any action looking to a separation from England; but Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton arranged a set of county mass-meetings which voted that the colony's interests and the United Colonies' were ''inseparably interwoven and linked together.'' Eden left the colony, and the decisive action was taken.

Maryland joins for independence

This left only New York, a vital centre, still hesitant of the thirteen; and its hesitation was most natural. Besides the reasons already given, it stood to lose more than any other northern colony. Howe's expelled Boston army with heavy reinforcements, and his brother's fleet, were on their way to seize Manhattan; Washington in fact had not force to prevent Sir William's landing at Staten Island June 28. On the north, the Canada fiasco had left the heart of the province open to invasion by Carleton; and the frightful menace of the Iroquois hung over them. Tryon too, like his twin spirit Dunmore, was hanging around on a war-ship, burning with spite and plotting savage vengeance. He had actually concerted with the mayor of the city a Guy Fawkes scheme to blow up the magazines, and kidnap Washington to be tried for treason in England; it was discovered, the mayor put in jail and a traitorous guardsman of Washington's hanged. Weightier than all,

New York's dilemma

1776 July

with high-minded men, was the fact that Lord Howe, a noted friend of the colonies, came also as a commissioner with authority to negotiate terms of accommodation: it seemed wicked to insist on a terrible war without even hearing him.

On the verge

But it was growing more and more evident that refusal to declare independence meant giving up the whole contest. On July 1, Congress as a Committee of the Whole took up the question and debated it with great power. The New York delegation would not vote for lack of instructions; South Carolina, three to one, voted no until the majority should decide yes; Pennsylvania no, four to three; Delaware a tie with one member gone. The rest voted yes: carried by a two-thirds vote. The next day the motion was put in regular session. Cæsar Rodney down in Delaware, apprised by a special express, had made a fierce eighty-mile ride and arrived in time to reverse the colony's vote; John Dickinson and Robert Morris absented themselves and let Pennsylvania stand three to two the other way; and South Carolina voted solidly yes.

Independence carried

Twelve of the thirteen colonies had thus unanimously declared their united independence; but the adoption of the formal instrument to announce it to the world still remained. By his colleagues on the committee appointed June 8, its drafting had been committed to Jefferson; and the choice was superb. Besides fine literary taste and a noble dignity of style, great historical learning and ample legal training, Jefferson passionately believed in what he had to say. He believed in the people,

Jefferson

1776 July 4–9

their rights and their righteousness, with ardent and generous enthusiasm; his political and religious philosophy was exactly that of Paine, but he was of far sweeter nature as well as higher abilities. With the aid of the old Covenanters' protests as suggestions of style, he produced the masterpiece of eloquence, stateliness, literary grace, sound legal form, convincing sincerity of matter and lofty rectitude of spirit, which is immortal as the Declaration of Independence.

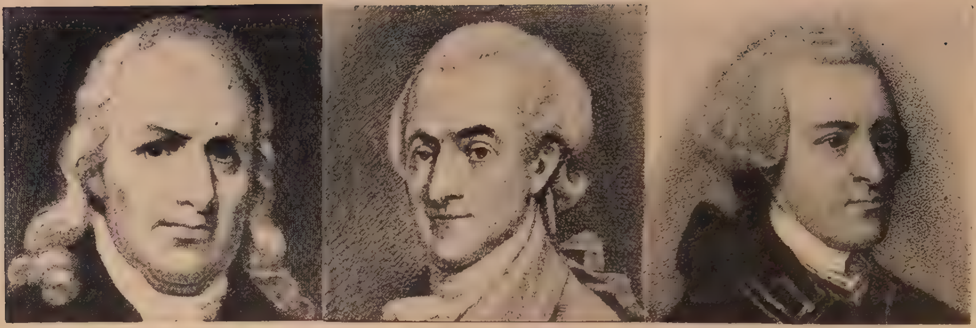
The Declaration of Independence

On the evening of the 4th of July it was unanimously adopted by the twelve colonies able to decide, and the country welcomed it with an uproar of acclamation. On the 9th a New York convention instructed its delegation to accede, thus assuring that the key of the arch should not be missing and the structure a wreck from the start; Washington directed the Declaration to be read at the head of each regiment; and the New York militia pulled down George III.'s leaden statue and cast it into bullets.

New York accedes

The effect of its promulgation was tremendous, not only in the colonies, but also in Europe. It has set the world to thinking. It has bred revotion and overturned dynasties. It has subverted the false idea of the divinity of kings, and established the true doctrine of the universal sovereignty of the people. It has wrested power from the few, and given it to the many. Its principles are still working, and in the end it will be the means of establishing in all nations the principle that all men are created equal.

Effect of the Declaration



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WILLIAM PACA. JOSIAH BARTLETT. SAMUEL ADAMS.

THOMAS STONE. WILLIAM WHIPPLE. JOHN ADAMS.

C. CARROLL. MATTHEW THORNTON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND DELEGATES.

(Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Maryland.)

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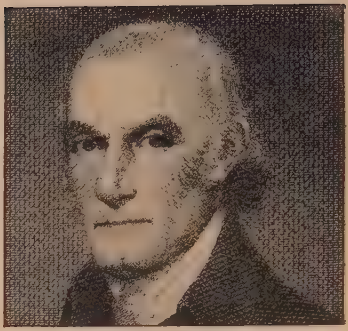

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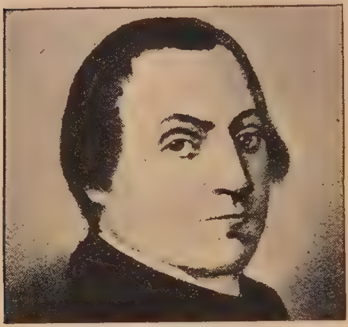

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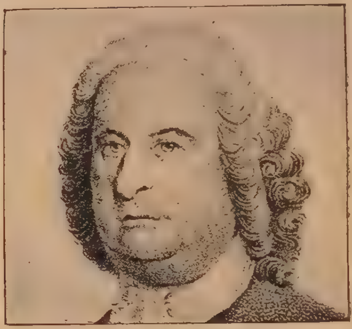

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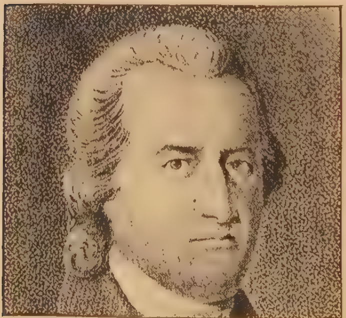

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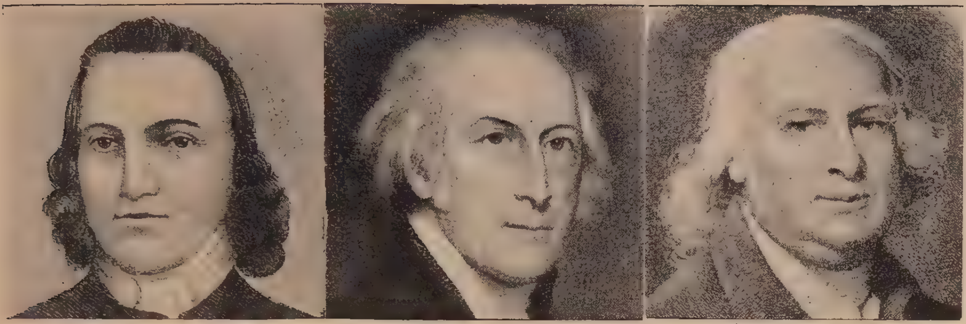

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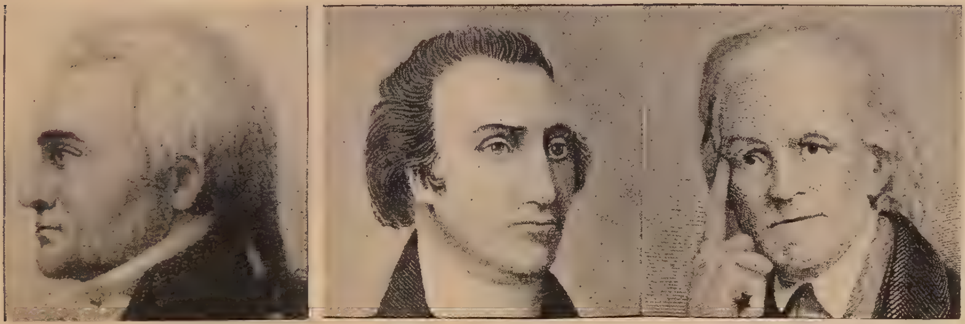

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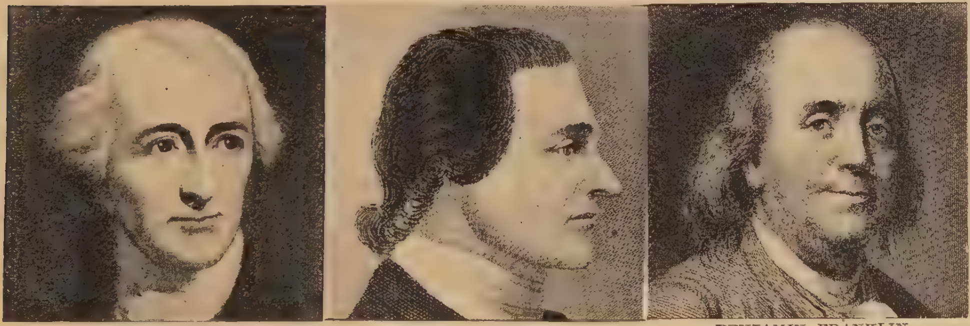

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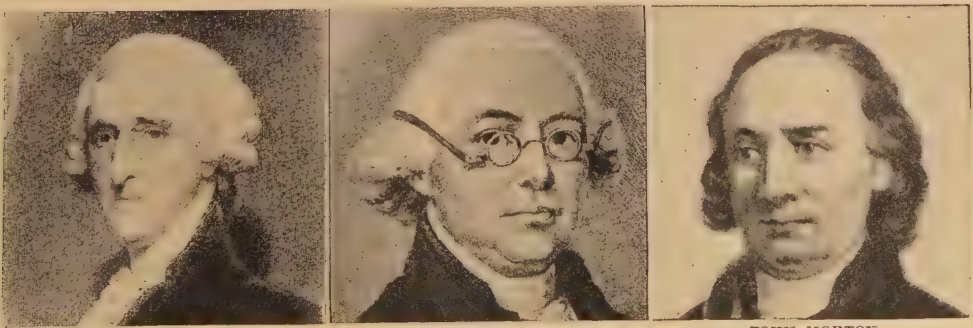

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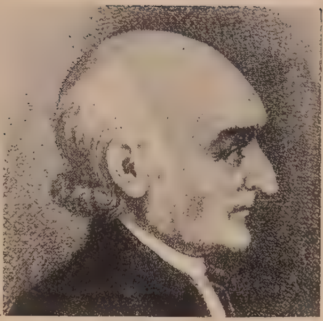
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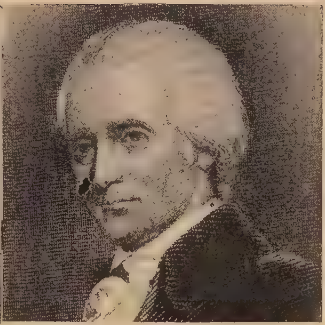
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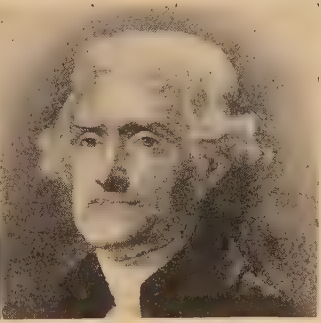
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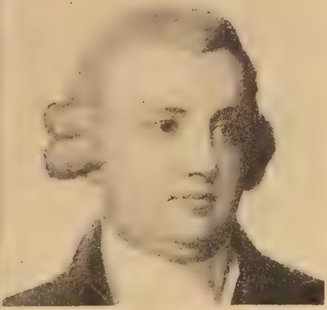
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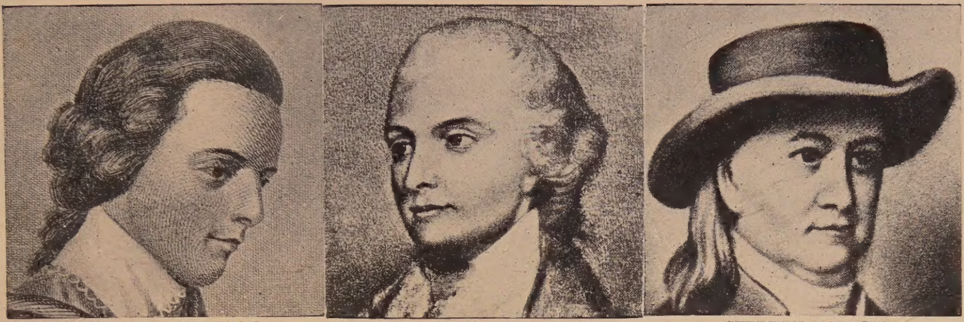

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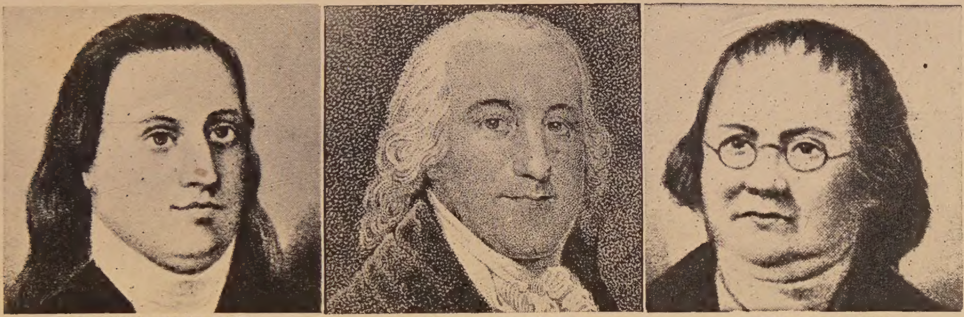

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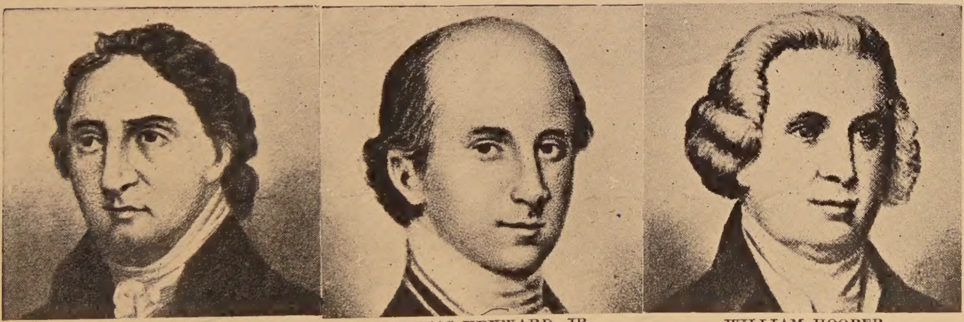

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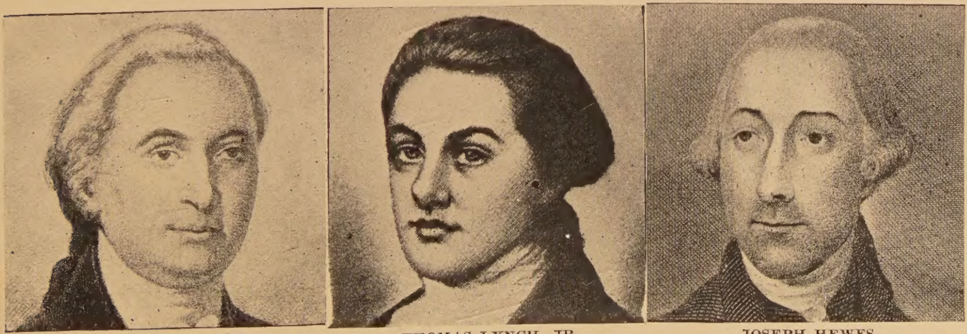

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